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LAY BAPTISM INVALID:

TO WHICH IS ADDED

Dissenters' Baptism null and void.

BY R. LAURENCE, M.A.

REPRINTED FROM THE FOURTH EDITION, 1723.

WITH

Additions and Illustrations,

ARRANGED AND EDITED

BY WILLIAM SCOTT, M.A.

PERPETUAL CURATE OF CHRIST CHURCH, HOXTON.

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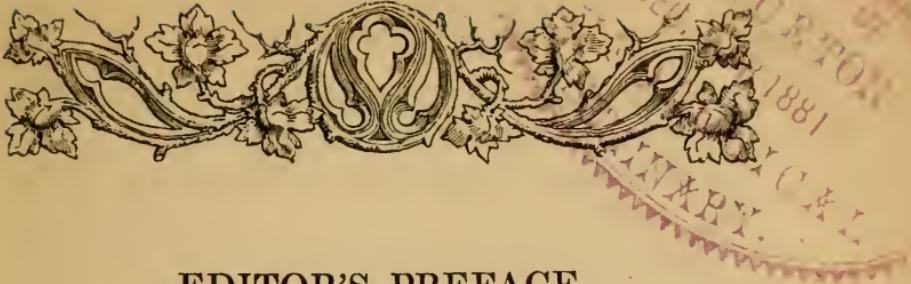
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EDITOR'S PREFACE.



HE only notice of the life of R. Laurence, the author of the treatises contained in the present publication, which the editor has been enabled to recover, is the brief and unsatisfactory sentence contained in the eleventh volume of the *Annals of Queen Anne*, p. 377, a work of no very high authority :—“This unhappy controversy began upon the practice of one Mr. R. Laurence, a book-keeper, who having been born, baptised, and bred in the dissenting way, did, after his return out of Spain, declare himself a convert to the Church of England ; and to express his abhorrence of the friends he left, he declared that he thought his baptism among them was invalid, null, and void ; and accordingly he was rebaptised by the curate of Christ Church in London, without consent of the bishop, and without order or knowledge of the parish-priest.”

This most important circumstance of his life he alludes to at p. lxxii. Some trouble has been taken to procure the register of his baptism under the date which

he himself gives ; and the books of Christ Church, Newgate Street, to which the above extract seems to refer, have been in vain searched for this purpose. Either, therefore, the baptism was never entered on the register (and this, perhaps, because Laurence was an adult), or the annalist is incorrect in his information ; and it is the rather suspected that this is the case, because there seems an obvious inconsistency between the statement that Laurence was a “book-keeper in London,” if the occupation be that which is now so called, and the fact that in the fourth edition of his *Lay Baptism*, from which the present is reprinted, he is styled on the title-page “R. Laurence, M.A.,” although this might have been a Scotch degree. Indeed, though not remarkable for elegance of language, the work itself, and the learning which it displays, even making all allowance for his use of translations, and the assistance which its author might have derived from Brett, Hickes, and other sources, such as Forbes’ work *Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ*, which he seems to have followed implicitly in the *Preliminary Discourse*, and, above all, the surprising skill in reply which he displayed in his various controversies with writers so practised and formidable as Bingham and Burnet, forbids the conclusion that his station in life was merely that of a merchant’s clerk. The only facts ascertained are, that he was a layman ; “By a Lay Hand” being the unpretending signature of the three first editions of his principal work ; and that he lived in London, several allusions occurring to “this city” and its regulations.

The same earnest and thoughtful tone of mind which led him to seek baptism in the Church would, of course, urge him to preserve others from the danger which he

attributed, and with what reason must be judged from the book itself, to a continuance in unauthorised (so-called) baptism. The first edition of his *Lay Baptism invalid* appeared in or before 1710; the third, with many additions, in 1712; and the fourth, which differs from its predecessor in few and unimportant respects, in 1723. Whether since that period it has been republished, the editor of the present edition is not aware; but he is informed that notice was taken of it, and portions reprinted, in a work by Mr. Sikes, when the controversy was revived by Sir John Nicholl's celebrated decision. Laurence's book seems to have arrested general attention. Indeed, the peculiar circumstances of the time, the writings of the non-jurors, the stormy proceedings in convocation, Sacheverell's case, the proposed trial of Whiston for heresy, the many valuable works lately written in defence of Church-principles, and the jealousies engendered by the toleration and occasional-conformity act,—all combined to make the period one in which a discussion like that on lay baptism, involving almost every point which then occupied men's minds, would make a deep impression. And it did so. Bishop Burnet, in two sermons preached at Salisbury, Nov. 7, 1710, attacked what he called the new doctrine. Laurence replied in *Sacerdotal Powers* (1st edition, 1711; 2d edition, 1713). As an appendix to this was added a letter from Brett to Laurence, in which Burnet's "popish doctrine" is censured (1711). Bishop Fleetwood produced his *Judgment of the Church of England in the case of Lay Baptism, &c.*, 1711, which was immediately answered by Laurence's tract, reprinted in the present publication, *Dissenters' Baptism null and void* (1st edition, 1712; 2d edition, 1713). The Bishop of Oxford (Tal-

bot) condemned Laurence's doctrine in his charge of the same year; and Laurence defended himself in *The Bishop of Oxford's Charge considered* (1712). Bingham's *Scholastical History of Lay Baptism* argued in favour of its validity; to which two replies appeared—Laurence's second part of *Lay Baptism invalid* (1713), and Brett's *Inquiry into the Practice of the Primitive Church* (1713). Bingham appeared, in 1714, with the second part of his *Scholastical History*, in answer to Laurence and Brett; to which Laurence rejoined in a supplement to the first and second parts of *Lay Baptism invalid* (1714), and Brett in a *Further Inquiry* (1714): and to these may be added Bingham's *Dissertation on the Eighth Canon of the Council of Nice*; Hickes' *Letter to Laurence*, prefixed to the third edition of *Lay Baptism invalid*; the letters between Waterland and Kelsall; and a cloud of less important tracts and pamphlets,—such as, *The regular Clergy's sole Right to administer Baptism* (1712); *Donatus redivirus*; and *Answer to Donatus redivirus*, &c. Every incidental point which the discussion raised seems to have been subjected to rigid scrutiny, and feelings political as well as religious were addressed. If the Whigs were appealed to, they were reminded that Prince George of Denmark had only received Lutheran baptism, and as a consequence, by no means obvious, that Laurence's doctrine was untrue. On the other hand, the nonjurors were told that King Charles the Martyr had been baptised by a Presbyterian; a notion, however, which Henry Cantrell wrote a tract, in 1716, especially to confute. If it was argued, as it frequently was, that Laurence's doctrine “unchurched the foreign Protestants,” a London clergyman, in a tract, *The Judgment of the Reformed in France* (1712), produced the very sin-

gular testimony that Calvin himself pronounced "all baptisms wholly null and void which were not performed by a lawful minister."

Burnet (*History of his own Times*, vol. vi. p. 115-117, Oxford edition) alludes to the controversy in terms characteristic of his temper and principles :—"Another conceit was taken up of the invalidity of lay baptism, on which several books have been writ; nor was the dispute a trifling one, since by this notion the teachers among the dissenters passing for laymen, this went to the rebaptising of them and their congregations. Dodwell gave rise to this conceit. The bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to this new and extravagant doctrine; so a declaration¹ was agreed to, first, against the irregularity of all baptism by persons who were not in holy orders; but that yet, according to the practice of the primitive Church and the constant usage of the Church of England, no baptism (in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) ought to be reiterated. The Archbishop of York [Sharp] at first agreed to this; so it was resolved to publish it in the name of all the bishops of England: but he was prevailed on to change his mind, and refused to sign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular baptism. So the Archbishop of Canterbury [Tenison], with most²

¹ See page lxiii.

² How many bishops concurred in this paper cannot be ascertained. The metropolitan of York and his bishops had nothing to do with it; and from Bingham (*Dedication of second part of Scholastical History*) we learn that the Bishop of Winchester (Trelawney) refused to sign it; and Laurence states the same of the Bishop of Exeter (Blackall).

From Newcome's *Life of Archbishop Sharp*, pp. 369-376,

of the bishops of his province, resolved to offer it to convocation. It was agreed to in the upper house, the Bishop of Rochester [Sprat] only dissenting ; but when it was sent to the lower house, they would not so much as take it into consideration, but laid it aside, thinking that it would encourage those who struck at the dignity of the priesthood." A more particular account of these proceedings will be found in the note to p. lxiii.

Of the parties in this controversy it may be remarked, that Burnet's Scotch education, if not his suspected Presbyterian baptism, would predispose him to the views which he took ; and of Fleetwood and Sykes, who wrote on the same side, it must be remembered,

it appears that Archbishop Sharp refused his signature, not because he did not agree with the sentiments of the declaration, but because it would "be too great an encouragement to the dissenters to go on in their way of irregular uncanonical baptisms ;" and in his letter of April 28, 1712, he informs the Archbishop of Canterbury, that the Bishops of St. David's, Chester, and Exeter, refused for the same reason, that the paper amounted to a declaration in favour of the validity of lay baptism. Mr. Newcome (vol. ii. p. 27, of the same work) sets this declaration of the bishops in its true light. Archbishop Sharp declined to concur in a public declaration of the bishops' *private sentiments* concerning the validity of lay baptisms, though they were his own likewise, because it might seem that they wished the world to think that they spoke the sense of the Church of England, or the current opinion of our divines on this point, rather than their own individual sentiments. The archbishop felt that the declaration of the bishops could never amount to a judgment of the Church, even if they had been unanimous, which it is quite clear that they were not, at least eight of the bishops, for various reasons, objecting to it.

and surely this is significant, that they afterwards became conspicuous as defenders of Hoadley. With one exception, the opponents of Laurence were, though in various degrees, of the latitudinarian school ; and this exception was his most formidable opponent, Bingham. The dispute, as has been shewn above, was carried on through various publications ; and in one instance alone (alluded to at p. xcix. *Prel. Disc.*) did Bingham succeed in convicting Laurence of positive inaccuracy, which was frankly, even thankfully, acknowledged. On the whole, the controversy was conducted with Christian feelings, though Bingham was the first to lose his temper ; and of its success the editor would adopt the language of one, whose calm judgment and severe accuracy in weighing conflicting proofs makes his judicial opinion most important, while the fact that, on the whole, his theology was of a different school from that of Laurence, renders his authority less liable to suspicion, the presumption being that he would have adopted the opposite opinion :

Waterland (*First Letter to Kelsall*, vol. x. p. 3) says : “ I am not at all surprised at Mr. Kelsall’s judgment on the case. It is not very long since I was myself of the same opinion,¹ being led to it, as I suppose he may, partly by the good nature of it, and partly by the authority of great names, as the Bishops of Sarum and Oxford, &c., besides some passages of antiquity not well understood ; and I was pleased, I confess, to see all, as I thought, confirmed by Mr. Bingham’s *Scholastical History of Lay Baptism*. But second thoughts

¹ Brett says that he changed his opinion in the same manner. *Inquiry*, p. 2.

and farther views have given a turn to my judgment, and robbed me of a pleasing error, as I must now call it, which I was much inclined to embrace for a truth, and could yet wish that it were so. The arguments or scruples mentioned in your letter have all, besides many more, been considered, canvassed, answered, carefully, solidly, and, in my humble opinion, fully and completely. If Mr. Kelsall had seen Mr. Laurence's answer to Mr. Bingham, I hardly think he could despise that gentleman's learning or judgment." And *Second Letter*, p. 193 : "If he [Kelsall] has failed, it may be considered that the great Mr. Bingham, not to mention others, has sunk in the attempt before ; and neither his fine parts nor voluminous reading could support him against an adversary [Laurence], who in learning certainly, not to say in abilities, is far inferior to him." And elsewhere, in reference to the point of confirmation as supplementary of lay baptism, he says of the passage at p. 230 of this publication : "I refer Mr. Kelsall to Mr. Laurence's incomparable reasonings upon this very point, which I despair of ever seeing answered" (*Second Letter*, p. 97).

Praise so high, and from such a quarter, might alone seem sufficient to authorise the republication of a work thus characterised, especially in times when men of all views are inquiring so generally for authority ; but at the present moment, circumstances, to which it would be improper to do more than to allude, have called renewed and anxious attention to the subject of lay baptism. Had it remained with the present editor to renew the controversy—one from which pain seems inseparable—he would have declined, though this might be in some cases, yet not in his own, a weakness, to

interfere with a matter on which they, whose judgment is most valuable, have thought it prudent to remain silent. But it seems now no longer possible to blink the question : having been mooted, and that some time since, and general interest being felt in it, as is shewn by the periodical literature of the day—and whatever opinion is held of such authority, at least it affords a fair index of popular thoughts and feelings—it was deemed useful to furnish students with the principal work on one side of the question ; the eighth volume of the new edition of Bingham being esteemed, and that with justice, the standard work on the other. The office of the present editor has been to revise the work itself; to supply the references, in which the original is entirely and blamably deficient ; and from various sources to throw into the form of notes and appendices such points of the controversy as seemed in his imperfect judgment most important. In the delicate charge of stating arguments, he trusts that he has been fair towards either party ; but the impossibility of reprinting the whole controversy has entailed upon him duties of compression and deduction, under this head, from which he would have otherwise shrunk. The additions to the original work are marked by [].

And here it may seem not out of place to say something of the use, under God's blessing, of this publication, the purpose of which, without some apology, seems open to misconstruction. It may be well, therefore, frankly to avow, that for the feelings of those who dread the danger of disturbing men's minds, the present editor, though he has the greatest respect, has but little sympathy. In seeking truth, and that more especially in holy things, prejudices are to be shocked : we know

that all error is pleasing ; to remove it, therefore, must be painful. Or should it be objected that such inquiries are ill-timed, surely divine truth has no time ; there never can be circumstances under which to vindicate God's word and purpose is inexpedient. It is not therefore a question of pain or of expediency, but of truth ; and if the matter be true, the sooner and the more thoroughly men's minds are stirred the better. If Laurence's views are false, let them be refuted completely and earnestly : but it will not do to be afraid of the subject. Nor because the consequences *seem* inconvenient,—for if the subject-matter be true, this inconvenience is only apparent,—does it follow that the doctrine is false ; “ for at this rate,” argues Laurence (*Bishop of Oxford's Charge considered*, p. 47), “ no doctrine of Christianity will stand secure. To instance only one, in one of the fundamentals of our holy religion,—the Deity of the second and third Persons of the glorious Trinity ; the denial of this doctrine is heresy. St. Paul says, he that is guilty of this sin *shall not inherit the kingdom of God* (Gal. v. 20, 21). Here vast multitudes have been concerned in the consequence of asserting the Godhead of the Son and Holy Ghost ; for all who opposed this doctrine were involved in the guilt of heresy, and consequently were liable to that dreadful threat of the inspired apostle : and who were these but a great number of Churches and their bishops in several parts of the Roman empire ? At the rate of arguing in these days, the doctrine of the Deity of the Son of God and of the Holy Ghost must have been pronounced false, dangerous, and uncharitable, if the mischievous consequences which men run themselves into could have made that doctrine so. The Catholics in those days did

not thus judge of doctrines : the consequence is dreadful, *ergo* the doctrine is false. No ; they entered into the merits of the cause, and did not regard the consequences in any other ways than by endeavouring, with prayers and tears, instruction and discipline, to rescue them out of, and preserve them from, them. For truth cannot change its nature, and vary itself, to be accommodate to every circumstance of man's will and pleasure. Every man is bound to take care not to make bad consequences by his own wilfulness or carelessness ; but if men will be perverse or negligent, truth must remain still the same, and the mischief of the consequences which men make, they may thank themselves for. How God will deal with some who are unwillingly involved in them, is nothing to us ; we must leave that to His infinite wisdom and goodness ; still looking to ourselves that we do not make ourselves guilty of such dangerous consequences by acting contrary to His will, nor contribute, by our over-easiness and but imaginary charities, to their false notions and unwarrantable practices, which are confessedly very dangerous ones, if the doctrine be true which they in principle and in practice do oppose. This shews the necessity of entering upon the merits of the cause ; of sifting the doctrine itself ; of judging it by the great rule and standard of necessary truths, the holy Scripture ; and of determining its being true or false by that only touchstone, let the consequences be what they will, and the number of men never so great who are concerned in them."

Indeed, should it be made a question of occasional propriety, our own days require the subject of lay baptism to be thoroughly examined. Whether it be, as some think, almost a result of providential care, when,

as is now the afflicting case, our resources, especially in large towns, prevent us from treating baptised children as what they are, members of Christ, that obstacles are, as it were, thrown in the way of admitting many to Christian gifts and privileges who, humanly speaking, would receive grace but to make shipwreck of it; or whether this be only a matter of deep and mournful humiliation to a Christian people,—the fact is certain, that with a population increasing, we have, at least in some places, a decrease in baptisms. Much of this is to be attributed—and the editor here speaks from experience—to the recent measure of registration, which the masses of ignorant people consider a substitute for Christian baptism; and somewhat, it is suspected, to another startling fact, which has been hitherto unnoticed,—that since the passing of the late act for licensing meeting-houses in which to perform marriages, the adherents of dissenting teachers have been persuaded that the same measure gave authority to baptise also. And without doubt these matters make the subject more than ever important.

It is hoped that a very few observations upon the subject of the following pages, which may serve to prepare a reader for the turning points of the great question of lay baptism, will, as they are proposed with a tentative rather than dogmatical view, not be deemed impertinent.

I. Much of the abstract and *a priori* reasoning of Laurence's first treatise is on the question disputed only by those who deny the Christian priesthood to be a separate order; and it is on this ground, and on this alone, that Tertullian's authority rests, the single one which for the first three hundred years of Christianity

is claimed in favour, not of the practice, but of the principle, of lay baptism (see p. 154). If, therefore, we rely on this somewhat inconsistent writer, we must be prepared, which Tertullian was not (and therefore his inconsistency), to allow that all laymen might officiate indifferently in the administration of the sacraments of the Gospel. There is therefore, and there is much in it, the great antecedent improbability, drawn especially from the analogy of the administration of the other sacrament, not only that lay baptism would be presumptuous, intrusive, and irregular, which all Churchmen admit, but yet more, that it would be null; and this because it would be, so to say, out of all rule. The Church could never have contemplated it; it could not be brought into symmetry; it would be an emphatic instance of disorder, and nothing else. So the matter would present itself at the first blush; and this, of course, before we come to any evidence, or go into the facts and history. Let us bear in mind that, although there may be limitations, and subsequent opposing facts, yet if we go to the *principle* of the thing, and justify that, we must go far towards giving up the principle of the priesthood also; or else, which is a considerable step towards condemning it without examination, admit that lay baptism is totally irreconcilable with what we know to be Church-principles in all other things.

II. But although this is at once to stand on most disadvantageous ground, the latter is the position which must be taken by such as admit the irregularity, and at the same time the validity, of lay baptism. And then comes the question of the fact, which must be looked at under more than one aspect: first, whether lay baptism was ever enjoined, or permitted, or practised in the Church;

and if, as lay baptism was disallowed, except under restrictions, whether schismatical baptism was held valid. And again, supposing this question to be settled in the affirmative, whether dissenters' baptisms of the present day may be justified on the precedent of ancient schismatical baptisms. After which, should it be found that unauthorised baptism, as now used, is different in kind from ancient lay, or even schismatical, baptism, even though no proof can be drawn from the practice of the Church, the facts being dissimilar, still another inquiry arises—whether the very principle which is supposed to have influenced the decision of the Church in the former cases of schismatical baptism, would not have led her to adopt the same practice towards dissenters' baptisms, could they then have arisen, which it is allowed they did not; for no ancient heresy or schism stood in exactly the same relation to the Church which modern dissent does. The two former branches of inquiry are of precedent; the last of analogy.

1. Then that the administration of baptism was never *enjoined* to the laity is allowed on all hands. Scripture is silent upon it; no evidence of such an apostolic command is produced. And if it be justified upon the reason of the thing, and the necessity of baptism (John iii. 5), the same principle would hold good for lay consecration (on the scriptural evidence of John vi. 53), and would dispense with all sacerdotal offices whatever.

2. Was lay baptism *permitted* in the ancient Church? Yes; in the provincial council of Eliberis (*Prel. Disc.* p. xcv.), and subsequently in the western Church; but this under the restriction, 1. of necessity, which is not pretended by dissenters; 2. of the administrator being in full communion with the Church, which is not the

state of dissenters. And this case is not parallel to their baptisms upon this other clear ground,—that they have not received authority or commission to baptise, which the synod of Eliberis gave the Spanish laity. It is not doubted that the Church might give the laity authority to baptise, and for this very purpose the canon of Eliberis was framed ; but till such commission is given, there is no inconsistency between the denial of the validity of dissenters' baptisms without it, and the admission of lay baptisms in our own Church before the Hampton-Court conference, by command of the rubric, and grounded upon the episcopal commission, and nothing else.

3. That baptism by laymen without a commission, in defiance of the bishop's authority, and without the plea of necessity, and neither *enjoined* nor *permitted*, was ever *practised* in the ancient Church, is not even argued, nor is a single instance of it produced ; and that for this plain reason, that no schismatics or heretics, till very recently, pretended that they were a Church, and that they required no apostolic succession : but they argued, either that they were the true Church and had the true bishops, and that the Catholics were the schismatics, or heretics ; or that their own peculiar opinions, though confessedly different from those of the rest of the Catholic body, did not amount to heresy—that they did not deserve excommunication—and that of consequence they were justified in keeping up their own succession. But the ancient heretics never acted without an episcopal commission, real or pretended. Modern dissent, therefore, being new in theory, no argument can be drawn in favour of it from primitive practice, because, even granting that lay baptism was

practised in every Church since the days of the apostles, it was not *such* lay baptism as that of the dissenters, and therefore forms no precedent for it.

4. Was schismatical baptism—was heretical baptism, held valid, though irregular, by the Church? It was, as a principle. 1. They who once were baptised in the Church, if they fell into schism, heresy, or apostacy, were never rebaptised upon their reconciliation. This would be “*Anabaptism and Donatism*,” see p. lxiv. note. 2. They who received baptism from heretical or schismatical priests, even while continuing in a state of schism or heresy, except in certain cases, were not baptised upon their admission into the Church Catholic; for it was the rule of the Church, that “orders once given are always valid—therefore can never be deleted by any heresy, schism, or apostacy: therefore schismatical clergymen still retain their sacerdotal character—therefore their ministrations, and particularly baptism, are still valid, inasmuch as they could not lose their right of baptising given in their ordination.” (St. Augustine, as quoted by Waterland, *Second Letter*, p. 120.) There were circumstances, however, which seem to limit the application of this principle. 1. The form of institution was always held to be of the essence of the sacrament. 2. And not only this, but in most cases, the orthodox *belief* of the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as the *form* of words, was considered as essential to the validity of baptism performed by priests in other articles of faith heretical: it is on this ground that Athanasius rejects Arian baptism. 3. To perfect heretical baptism, and to invest it with the power of saving, it was necessary that the person having received it should be reconciled to the Church. And at first sight this seems to make much

in favour of dissenters' baptism; for it is alleged that it is administered in the name of the Trinity, and by those who are orthodox in that article of faith; and if all this, it is on primitive principles valid, and becomes, upon episcopal confirmation, a channel of spiritual grace. To which it may be replied :

(1.) Admitting that dissenters use the "form of sound words in baptism," yet, if something more than this is requisite to valid baptism, namely, upon Athanasius' principle, *orthodox belief in the sense* of the form, no dissenters either have, or can have, this. And lest it should seem startling to say that no dissenter is orthodox even in the article of the Trinity, let us remember Firmilian's observation (*Prel. Disc.* p. lxxxix.). He seems to imply this, that even if heretics were so inclined, none but the Church had, or could have, the true faith even of the Trinity. Sound faith seems of that mysterious nature, that we cannot make selections of it; accept this fragment, and reject that; call men orthodox in this particular, and deny them the title in regard to other articles of faith; and we cannot divide the deposit into essentials and non-essentials. Holy truth is so mixed up in all its parts, that in it there is nothing isolated, nothing separate—a fabric of structure so unearthly, that dislodge but one stone, and the whole edifice is in ruins: the law of faith seems like the law of works, *Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.*¹ Now, what is sound faith in the Trinity, but sound faith in the creeds of the Church? The form of baptism "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," though in its simplest form, is still the whole creed—

¹ James ii. 10.

what the three creeds evolve specially, the baptismal form contains essentially: unless, therefore, we believe each article when brought out specifically in the details of the creed, we do not in truth and really, though ever so much inclined, hold the Catholic faith in the simple form of the words of baptism. What it is intended to suggest is this: in the article of the Son, a man does not hold the doctrine of the Trinity who denies, for example, that "He was born of the Virgin Mary," or that "He was begotten of His Father before all worlds;" and it was for this reason that Athanasius denied the validity of the Arians' baptism: they denied the Catholic sense, although they used the Catholic form. Now, even in the Apostles' creed, all that follows the clause, "I believe in the Holy Ghost," is but an expansion of that article; he, therefore, who disbelieves any one of these explanations, or who does not hold them in their Catholic sense, cannot be said to be orthodox in his belief of the third Person of the ever-blessed Trinity. He does not rightly believe in the Holy Ghost who rejects or garbles the truths which that confession involves, viz. that the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, and that the one baptism for the remission of sins, and that the resurrection of the body, and that the life everlasting, are His gifts and operations. Now, no dissenter does hold the faith, the one Catholic faith, of the clause, "the holy Catholic Church;" therefore he does not "rightly believe" in "the Holy Ghost"—therefore he does not rightly believe in the Trinity—therefore, though he uses the form of the Trinity, because he is not orthodox in that confession, he cannot, even if he be so disposed, upon the principles of St. Athanasius and Firmilian, baptise in the name of the

Trinity, *i. e.* in the true faith which that baptism implies.

(2.) Granting, however, that dissenters' baptism is not only in the form, but in the faith, of the Trinity, or granting even that anciently baptisms were reckoned valid, which, though not in the faith, were administered only in the form of the Trinity,—such as that of the Arians, which, though Athanasius rejected, the council of Constantinople (*Prelim. Discourse*, p. ciii.) accepted, and ratified by imposition of hands; still, though unexceptionable in these respects, it does not stand upon the same ground as those baptisms in the ancient Church, which, though administered by schismatics, such as the Novatians, &c., or by heretics, such as the Macedonians or Arians, were allowed; for in all these cases the priests were priests, and not laymen—they had the succession—they had the sacerdotal right—they had the indelible character which dissenters have not, and to which they lay no claim. This, indeed, may be marked as the *jugulum causæ*: if, as Bingham argues, schismatical and heretical priests become laymen by their act of schism, and nothing better, then, of course, dissenters' baptism is plainly justifiable, not only by the decrees of many councils, hereafter to be quoted, but by the principle of the eighth canon of the council of Nice, which, if Bingham is right, in deciding that the Novatian clergy were to be admitted to the rank which they would have held among the Catholics, and at the same time, as a consequence, receiving their baptism,—proves that the ancient Church received the baptism of such as had no ordination, and were consequently unauthorised, and mere laymen; which is nearly the position of dissenters. But this is

on the assumption that there is no indelible character in the priesthood, and that heresy nulls orders, and as a consequence all subsequent ministerial acts. This settles the question of primitive precedent: whichever way this matter is decided, dissenters' baptism follows it. If Novatian was a priest during his schism, there is no parallel between his baptisms, which the Church acknowledged, and those of the dissenters; if he was only a schismatical layman all the time, and yet, in spite of this, the Church acknowledged his baptisms, then the baptisms of dissenters must be accepted also, and, as his were, be only confirmed by episcopal imposition of hands. Laurence denies Bingham's assertion, and from the indelible character of the priesthood, which his opponent rejects, argues that Novatian's orders were never nullified, and his baptisms, and those of his clergy, were consequently throughout their schism valid; and upon this fact the controversy between Bingham and Laurence ended; and it is the most vital point of all. The present editor is so imperfectly qualified to decide upon the evidence adduced in favour of either position, that he gladly avoids the difficulty by producing Waterland's decision (*Second Letter*, p. 122). “I cannot but wonder at Mr. Bingham’s strange attempt—strange in a man of his learning and sagacity—to overthrow this so well-grounded notion of the indelible character of orders, by which, whatever he pretends, *he runs cross to all antiquity.*” And again, p. 163: “We utterly deny, and challenge any man to give but one instance, in all antiquity, of the Church’s receiving the baptisms of those whose ordinations she had before declared void:” which seems to be a judgment on this head, that no parallel exists between ancient schisma-

ties and our dissenters; and hence, that no argument can be drawn from the baptisms of the former in favour of the admission of the latter. To recapitulate:

If *lay* baptism was never enjoined in the Church—if it was only permitted in cases of necessity, and that by laymen in full communion with the Church—and if it was only practised by virtue of episcopal authority and commission; and again, if *schismatical* baptism was received as valid, and ratified by episcopal confirmation, but that only upon the supposed reception of the Catholic belief in the whole creed, or failing this, in the case of *heretical* baptism, upon the fact that the heretic administering baptism had himself received valid orders; yielding all these points as certain, which are by no means so, and yet more, allowing that they were never controverted, and that this was the practice of the Church in all ages and places, which it certainly was not,—granting all this, yet, forasmuch as in every case examined, in those of *lay* baptism by reason of the express delegated commission, and in *schismatical* or *heretical* baptism by reason of the indestructible inherent right of valid orders, there exists either apostolical commission, episcopal license and authority, or communion with the Church (and that communion intentional, except in the instance of heretics and schismatics, and even in their case real, by virtue of the indelibility of orders),—it must be concluded that no precedent can be urged from these in favour of dissenters' baptisms, which have neither the plea of necessity (allowing, which is not authorised by facts, such an excuse), nor injunction of the Church, nor episcopal license, nor permission, nor communion with the Church, nor, as may be thought, a faith altogether free from heresy, nor valid orders; and are there-

fore essentially, and in kind, different from those ancient ones which are claimed as authorities for them.

5. Precedent then failing, it remains to see whether the analogy of practice might have justified the Church in receiving the baptisms of such as our dissenters, had they come before her. And here it might seem sufficient to say, that none such could be drawn, there being no parallel between anti-episcopal baptisms, and baptisms which, though in schism, were grounded upon the episcopate; and where there is no ratio, there can be no analogy, or if there be one, the dissenters, who are most concerned to establish their baptisms, are bound to make it out—the proof lies with them. But it may be that the probability is the other way. Can we not approximate to what must have been the decision of the Church, according to her received principles, in an hypothetical case, such as that of our dissenters' baptisms? For the Church does not decide capriciously or arbitrarily, even in new cases, but refers to standing rules, and to the authority of previous practice. The same argument which has failed the advocates of lay baptism when employed by them constructively, may be used by its opponents destructively. For, admitting the practice in certain cases of lay baptism, and granting the validity of ancient schismatical baptisms, when we inquire for that common nature which, in spite of their irregularity, rendered them acceptable in the eyes of the Church, we have seen that it is *the commission*. Wher-
ever this existed, however surreptitiously obtained, or disobediently, even sinfully, preserved, the ancient Church confessed the divine presence, and with mournful reverence refused to interfere. Jacob obtained the blessing by fraud; but Isaac neither would nor could

reverse it. And if it were the commission, and that alone, which thus sanctified the irregularity of administration, it may be concluded, that where this commission is absent, the Church would not have recognised grace. Under what character could our dissenters have presented themselves to the Church? not as laymen, for they have no commission to produce—not as schismatical ministers, for they have no succession to plead. It is not clear how the Church, even if inclined, could treat with those destitute of all authority, delegated or inherent; for her only received principle which could be applied to the case is directly against them.

This distinction will at once obviate the charge, that to propose to baptise those who have received dissenters' (so-called) baptism, is to fall into error, "not much differing from Donatism and Anabaptism," and Novatianism; because this is to assume the point at issue. The error of the Donatists and Novatians and Anabaptists, besides their schism, was, that they rebaptised those who had received Catholic and authorised baptism, the administrators being commissioned; whereas it is argued that the so-called dissenters' baptisms are not baptisms at all, the administrators having no commission.

Nor is this distinction less important in another light; it meets the great objection which Bingham made to Laurence for confounding unauthorised baptism with invalid baptism, and drawing no distinction between schismatical baptism and lay baptism. For practical purposes, the whole point at issue is, are they who have received dissenters' baptisms to be baptised in the Church, or not? The question is not about lay baptisms, or schismatical baptisms, *as such*, but about *unauthorised*

baptisms: and by keeping this single point in view, nearly all the obscurity with which this matter has been overclouded will be avoided.

If the foregoing hints upon the practice and doctrine of the ancient Church may be deemed sufficient, it remains to direct attention to the other branch of the subject—the judgment of our own Church.

Waterland (*Second Letter to Kelsall*, p. 185) takes the case to be thus :

“ 1. The Church of England has no where expressly, and *in terms*, determined the controversy either way.

“ 2. Her practice, as well as the stream of her divines, has all along been against us.

“ 3. Yet she has laid down such principles and positions in her public acts, as will, if pursued in all their consequences, bring us to the conclusion we are proving.

“ And this is all, I presume, that Mr. Laurence means in reckoning the Church of England on his side of the question: not that our first reformers, or other great divines since, actually thought as he does; but that in pursuance of the principles laid down in the articles, canons, and rubrics, they must have thought so, had they attended to all the consequences deducible from them. And indeed, if the case be thus; if the doctrine of the invalidity of lay baptism can be shewn, by necessary consequence, to be implied in what the public voice of our Church has asserted, and we subscribe to, it must be said that the Church of England is for us; and every subscriber that attends to such consequences, and believes them certain, does implicitly, or virtually, subscribe them also. And this is what I am persuaded Mr. Laurence has proved sufficiently in the pamphlet entitled *Dissenters' Baptisms null and void by the Articles*,

&c. It must therefore be observed, that those gentlemen take a wrong method of answering Mr. Laurence, who object to him the judgment of many of our eminent divines since the reformation: all that is wide of the point. He may think that many of our divines, and even some compilers of our public forms, had not sufficiently traced all the consequences of their own assertions, or might have drawn conclusions inconsistent with them. And therefore the ready and only way to confute him is, to shew that the consequences which he draws from the premises laid down in our public forms are ill drawn, or are no just consequences from them. Till this be done, the public voice of the Church, as it stands in our articles, rubries, and canons, will be thought to be on his side of the question; and he that consents to them must consent to him too, because there is no rejecting a necessary consequence once seen, without rejecting the principle itself from whence it flows. We need not therefore talk of the Whitgifts, the Hookers, the Bilsons, the Bancrofts, or others. The Church's *public acts* are open and common; and he is the truest Church-of-England man that best understands the principles *there* laid down, and argues the closest from them: all the rest are but assertions, fancies, or practices of particular men, and are not binding rules to us."

Also p. 188. "But it is said, practice has run contrary, and some Churchmen, or most Churchmen, have done so too [*i. e.* admitted the validity of unauthorised baptisms]. It may be so: yet the Church is consistent with herself; for the *public* voice of the Church is the Church; and while she lays down premises, consequences make themselves. However, all such kind of arguments signify little. Is the practice defensible, or

is it not? If it be, shew it upon principles, and argue not from *practice* only—the *weakest reason in the world*. If it be not, the obvious conclusion is, that it ought to be changed. I cannot but think it a wrong way to plead practice and custom for the validity of lay baptism, when we want a law to found it upon. What law of God, nay, what law of our own Church, authorises any laic to baptise, that we may have some shadow of authority to pronounce it valid? But the Church, you will say—that is, Churchmen—have so practised, therefore the Church approves it. I deny the consequence. Mr. Kelsall observes, that the Church of England ‘never made any canon or law for the punishment of a lay baptist who shall presume to do that office in extreme necessity.’ But what think you of these words in the preface to the ordination-book? ‘None shall be sufficient to execute any of the functions (of a bishop, priest, or deacon), except he hath had formerly episcopal consecration or ordination.’ Is not this part of her laws, and baptism one of her functions?’

One valuable application of the argument from the principles and practice of the primitive Church Catholic, as applied to this matter of unauthorised lay baptisms, seems to be this. It is a principle of the Anglican Church to follow implicitly the doctrine and discipline of the ancient Church. But when a definition of the term “ancient” is demanded, it is replied, “before the introduction of Roman corruptions and novelties.” It is much, therefore, in favour of the doctrine of the invalidity, or rather nullity, of dissenters’ baptism, that upon its mere announcement it seems in exact harmony with the Anglican *principle* of the *via media*. Romanists deem all unauthorised baptisms valid, dissenters

do the same ; and wherever this portentous combination of extremes is, we should presuppose that our Church would reject it. She does so in other things ; for example, in her doctrine of the eucharist : for, little as it was to be expected from their very opposite results, dissenters and Romanists have a common ground even here ; the error of the sacramentarians and that of transubstantiation are both rationalistic and intrusive. So is it with baptism, though in a reverse way ; commencing with a deep reverence for the sacrament, Romanists end in debasing it, by drawing technical consequences from divine truth : by an unhappy and hard fearlessness for results, they admit the most monstrous deductions, because to deny them would seem to impair the original principle. Were it not for this dread of logical inconsistency, it might appear incredible that any Church, as Rome does, would admit the validity of baptisms performed by heathens. And yet the Roman authorities are not afraid to allow this very just formal consequence—for it is one—of once admitting laymen to baptise ; although it would be unfair to assign any inferior ground for the commencement of the practice, on the part of the Church, than an earnest sense of the necessity of baptism itself. Dissenters begin at the other end : they disparage the sacrament all along ; and lay baptism is just as natural a result of their view as that of the Romanists. If, therefore, the two great erroneous systems of religion have one practice in common, and that practice arising from very opposite principles, a strong prejudice, in the proper sense of the word, would rise against it in the mind of an Anglican. The validity of lay baptism seems just one of those things which, like infallibility, be it of the Roman pon-

tiff or of private judgment, or like that selfish feeling which at one time appears under the form of indulgences, and at another under that of the Calvinistic assurance, we condemn at once as uncatholic, novel, and rationalising. Whenever Romanism and dissent meet, we are bound to pause and suspect. This is natural to us; it is the Anglican principle: if it be so in other things, why should we not apply it to unauthorised baptisms? The Romanists admit them—we answer, that the practice is novel; dissenters admit them—we answer, that the practice is rationalising; it comes from their denial of the need of ordinances. If these are the replies which we are constantly giving to either party in other points of controversy, it amounts to a fair probability, that another case, such as that of unauthorised baptism, where the same answer applies equally, may be reduced to the same class. And if the Anglican Church has not decided any point, it would be a very strong presumption that it would decide against it, simply to prove that it is the common property of Rome and dissent, and there leave it; which seems the case of unauthorised baptisms.

This is prior to the historical question; which may amount to this.

Up to the period of the alteration of the rubric consequent on the Hampton-Court conference, our branch of the Church, it is said, did admit the validity of lay baptisms; in case of necessity she enjoined them. But how far this precedent, supposing it to be as stated, is good for the validity of *unauthorised* baptisms, is another question. It is not disputed that the Church might authorise lay baptisms, may authorise them again, if she pleases: the question now is, of baptisms done in

defiance of her. It is by no means clear that the rubric down to 1603 touches the question of *unauthorised baptisms*; indeed, there are obvious reasons why it could not: the whole class of dissenters had no existence when the old rubric was framed; the Church could not have sanctioned, by anticipation, that, the existence of which was never contemplated. If the Church did permit or enjoin lay baptisms prior to 1603, no parallel exists between them and the present dissenters' baptisms; they were baptisms in communion with the Church, performed by persons baptised in the Church, and in the case of children born of parents in communion with the Church. But were these lay baptisms recognised by the Church so long? This is most important. We shall presently see that it is doubtful whether the old rubric ever had this meaning; and to settle its sense, let us take the testimony of the canon of the convocation of 1575. Wilkins, *Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 285.

“ XII. Item. Where some ambiguity and doubt hath arisen among divers, by what persons private baptism is to be ministered; forasmuch as by the book of Common Prayer allowed by statute, the bishop of the diocese is to expound and resolve all such doubts as shall arise concerning the manner how to understand, do, and execute the things contained in the same book; it is now by the said archbishop and bishops expounded and resolved, and every one of them doth expound and resolve, that the said private baptism, in case of necessity, is only to be ministered by a lawful minister, or deacon, called to be present for that purpose, and by none other. And that every bishop in his diocese shall take order that the exposition of the said doubt shall be published in writing, before the first day of May next

coming, in every parish-church of his diocese in this province ; and thereby all other persons shall be inhibited to intermeddle with the ministering of baptism privately, being no part of his vocation."

Here is the testimony of convocation ; and it seems remarkable, as though to anticipate objections perhaps the most extraordinary which ever signalised a controversy, that the evidence of the authenticity of this canon is remarkably full. Wilkins, *Concilia*, iv. 281.

" Post varias deinde continuationes convocatio congregabatur Martii 17, in capella ecclesiæ Beati Petri Westm., ubi archiepiscopus præsens perlegi mandarit et fecit quosdam articulos in scriptis conceptos ; quibus sic lectis, dictus reverendissimus et confratres sui prædicti consensum et assensum suos unanimiter adhibuerunt."

Can evidence be more strong as to the synodical decision of the Church ? But had the articles the royal sanction ? They were fifteen in number. Wilkins, from Heylin, quotes (p. 285), " Ultimus tamen articulus typis non fuit expressus, eo quod domina regina (ut dicitur) non assensit eidem. Postquam hi articuli promulgati fuissent," &c. If the queen would not assent to the last article, and they were printed and published without it, can there be a stronger proof that the other fourteen were sanctioned by her, and published ? Collier states expressly (*Eccles. Hist.* ii. 552) : " This article (the twelfth) being particularly remarkable, I have given it in the words of the record." Passed in convocation unanimously, sanctioned by the queen, published by the archbishop's mandate bearing date 20th April, 1576,—is further evidence required ?¹

¹ Sir H. Jenner is reported to have said in a late case, presently to be alluded to, " It is clear that it (the twelfth

We now come to the Hampton-Court conference, held in consequence of the millenary petition ; one of its requests being, “ baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained.” And on the first day’s conference, “ as to the Book of Common Prayer, the king required satisfaction . . . as to private baptism ; and here he made a distinction : if it was private with reference to the place, he thought it consistent with the practice of the primitive Church ; but if it related to the person, he disliked it to the last degree. And upon this occasion he expressed himself with some warmth against women and laics administering this sacrament.

“ The archbishop [Whitgift] endeavoured to satisfy his majesty, that the administration of baptism by women and lay persons was not allowed by the Church

article) was not printed with the other canons agreed to on this occasion.” Certainly we have it in Wilkins, *Ex Excerptis Heylinianis*. The archbishop’s (Grindal’s) mandate is express, that it was ordered to be published. Sir H. Jenner says, that the fifteenth was disapproved of by the king,—that is to say, the queen. This is true ; and how excellent an opportunity was given here to Heylin, or to Wilkins, or to Collier, who calls especial attention to the twelfth, challenging inquiry, as it were, to it, to say something of its doubtfulness ; but not a word. Sir H. Jenner proceeds : “ If this canon had been published and acted upon, it was extraordinary that no copy of it could be found in any book, or registry of any diocese.” Strype says that the twelfth article was omitted in the printed copy : a good reason for which was, that it was explanatory. But Strype testifies expressly that he himself had seen it all in the MS. copies ; and he mentions three by name. Has Sir H. Jenner seen a single MS. copy which does not contain the twelfth article ? If he has not, Strype’s authority must be received.

of England ; that the bishops in their visitations censured this practice ; and that the words in the office do not infer any such latitude. To this the king excepting, cited the office, and argued that the words could not be construed to less than a permission for women and lay persons to baptise. Here the Bishop of Worcester [Babington] struck in, and confessed that the words were *somewhat ambiguous, and might be strained* to such a meaning ; but by the counter-practice of the Church, by women's being censured upon this score, it seems reasonable to suppose the compilers of the office did not design to be so understood ; and yet, notwithstanding, couched the form in ambiguous expressions, because otherwise, perhaps, the book might not have passed in parliament. The Bishop of London [Bancroft] was not satisfied with this discourse, and replied, that the compilers of the Prayer-book really designed a permission to private persons for baptising in cases of necessity ; and he proceeded to shew that this was agreeable to the practice of the primitive Church, citing Acts, chap. ii., and Tertullian and St. Ambrose.

"To this the king replied, that the instance in the Acts was an extraordinary case ; and that to argue from the practice of a Church in its beginning, to one settled, was no good reasoning. And he went on to maintain the necessity of baptism from John iii. 5 ; and so far declared for the necessity of baptism, that when it could be administered by the clergy, it ought never to be omitted ; but the laity, he conceived, ought not to presume on that office in any case. And yet, *which was somewhat particular*, he disapproved all rebaptisation, though that sacrament had been administered by private unauthorised persons.

"The Bishop of Winchester [Bilson] discoursing learnedly upon this subject, affirmed that to bar private persons baptising in cases of necessity, was to cross upon all antiquity ; that it was a maxim in divinity, that the minister was not of the essence of the sacrament. To this the king answered, that though the minister was not of the essence of the sacrament, he was, notwithstanding, of the essence of the right and lawful ministry of the sacrament. His ground was the words in the apostles' commission, *Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptising them,*" &c.—Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 674, &c., from Barlow.

It has lately been held by an authority,¹ whose judicial function entitles him to respect, although, as a layman, his opinion—for it amounts to no more—is of weight as little as that of any individual writer, that King James was of opinion that if the act had been *de facto* done, he so disliked rebaptism, that he would not have the rite repeated, though it were done by women and laics ; that the Church, by inserting the words "lawful minister" in place of "them that be present," did not intend to assert that lay baptism was null and void, but only irregular ; and if so, the law of the Church at that time was the law of the Church now.

The grounds upon which this judgment is given seem to be, that these facts are proved :

1. That the canon of 1675 is not genuine, because never referred to in the Hampton-Court conference or by Hooker.
2. That up to the Hampton-Court conference the Church admitted lay baptisms.
3. That the alteration at that conference only went

¹ Sir H. Jenner, judgment Mastin v. Escott.

to discourage the practice, not to pronounce that, when done, lay baptism was null.

And hence, that the Church deems it irregular, but still valid, and not to be repeated ; because, though King James and the bishops disliked lay baptism, they disliked rebaptisation also.

To all this may be replied :

1. Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Babington, in terms, deny that the Church ever meant either to encourage or permit lay baptism, *even by the old rubric*. King James had expressed himself warmly against baptism by women and laics. The two prelates admit his objection, and say that this was not the doctrine of the Church, however much it might have been contravened. That the rubric was designedly ambiguous, not to offend the Romanists ; but that the practice was not enjoined by the Church ; on the contrary, that the bishops censured it (and here certainly is a clear allusion to the canon of 1675, and a sufficient reply to the judge's argument, from the silence at the conference respecting it). If this be so ; if the reformers never intended even to permit lay baptism ; if the doctrine of Whitgift and Babington is true,—there is an end of the controversy ; it is admitted on all hands that the whole case breaks down : if even the old rubric did not permit lay baptism, much less can the present.

2. But Bancroft brings two answers to the view taken by the other bishops. 1. He declares that the reformers did permit the practice. 2. He justifies it on Scripture and on antiquity. King James replies, as we have seen, to the scriptural instance (which was one always quoted by the Romanists, and to which Forbes' is a more satisfactory answer, see p. cxvi.), and then he observes “ that

he disapproves all rebaptisation," &c. This clearly is founded upon Bancroft's first objection, and goes upon the supposition of its truth. If King James is to be considered an exponent of the intentions of the Church, his whole argument is most consistent. He dislikes lay baptism : he is told by some of the bishops that it is not, and never has been, the doctrine of the Church ; he is told by others that it was her intention. To which he answers, if we may attempt to give consistency to what he said, and the Church did : "The rubric shall be altered. Disputes have arisen about its meaning (see canon of 1675) ; these shall exist no longer. If it be true that it never was intended to sanction lay baptism, the fact that it has been mistaken affords a reason for a change. If, on the other hand, the Church intended it, I have a strong opinion against the practice. I see no warrant for it in Scripture or antiquity ; therefore it shall be changed. But since the Church has authorised the practice hitherto, let us have no rebaptisation of those who have already received lay baptism. Their baptism is valid, because the Church has authorised it ; but it shall be so no longer, the rubric shall be changed." And it was changed.

It is clear that the king's objection to rebaptisation was upon the supposition that lay baptisms were hitherto *authorised*: his doctrine was retrospective to all who had, since the Reformation, received lay baptism on the authority of the Church ; it does not apply as a general principle to those who should in future receive it in defiance of the Church. Two objections are, however, foreseen to this mode of representing King James's sentiments, and, by implication, the reasons which induced the Church to alter the rubric.

1. It may be urged, “not only did the king disapprove of all rebaptisation in the case of private, but ‘unauthorised’ persons. And surely this is to declare, on the widest grounds, that baptism once given, no matter how, is not to be repeated : the want even of authority does not null it.” Still it must be borne in mind, that this also only need apply to the *past*. If, as Whitgift argued, the Church had never given authority to laymen to baptise, their baptisms, it might have been suggested, as being unauthorised, would be also invalid, and consequently all persons since the Reformation who had received lay baptism ought to be rebaptised. The king replies in the negative : “I disapprove all rebaptisation, though that sacrament has been administered by private *unauthorised* persons.” Why ? because such persons have not thought themselves unauthorised. It has been hitherto supposed, whether with truth or not, that the Church had given such *authority* to laymen.

2. It may be contended that the king, in his reply to Bilson, states broadly “that the minister was not of the essence of the sacrament.” But he answered, that the apostolical commission was. As a principle, it is true, that the “minister is not of the essence of the sacrament,” otherwise we should fall into the Romish doctrine of intention ; but “the minister is of the essence of the right and lawful ministry of the sacrament.” In the naked sense, it is not true that the minister is essential ; but it is true that without lawful minister there is no right and lawful sacrament. To prove dissenters’ baptisms null, there is no occasion to assume as a maxim that “the minister is essential to the sacrament,” if it be granted, as King James expressly declared, that the apostolical commission is.

King James shewed himself throughout the conference much too clear-headed a controversialist to have committed the gross inconsistency which the common interpretation of his words implies ; and surely it is much better to reconcile his two statements than to argue from their inconsistency, and make the Church as inconsistent as the king.

However, what King James or the bishops said, or what they intended, is no decision of the Church : into the grounds even of the change in the rubric we are not bound to enter. We have to take it as it stands, and to see how its sense must be determined by other Church-principles, expressed in other formularies ; and this is what Laurence has done in the tract, *Dissenters' Baptism null and void*. It must be carefully borne in mind, that the sense of the English Church does not rest upon King James's dictum. The writer of these remarks thinks that the king's observation about rebaptisation by no means bears the construction commonly put upon it ; that it is not inconsistent with what he says elsewhere ; that it was not intended as the enunciation of a general principle, and a guide for future practice, but only a decision for the past. But should this vindication of King James's consistency be deemed unsound, it will be satisfactory to those who think him inconsistent, and his observation about rebaptising "somewhat particular," as Bishop Barlow calls it, to hear Brett's *Inquiry*, p. 107.

" Even Bishop Fleetwood has very well observed, that ' what his majesty said against rebaptising such as had before been baptised by laics, is inconsistent with what he said of the necessity of being baptised by a lawful minister.' Since, then, his majesty on this occa-

sion gave two opinions inconsistent with themselves, and one of these was received by the Church and put into the rubric, and afterwards confirmed both by convocation and parliament, is it not plain which of these opinions we ought to follow? We cannot be bound to hold two inconsistent opinions. Now the rubric was not altered because his majesty thought those who were baptised by laics or women ought not to be rebaptised, but because he thought baptism by a lawful minister *absolutely necessary*. We are therefore to be guided by the rubric, as founded on this opinion, and not by the other opinion of the king and bishops, which was inconsistent with it, and neither promoted nor hindered that alteration. Since, therefore, the rubric, which till this conference was commonly thought to allow, or at least permit, lay baptism in case of necessity, was then altered, and none permitted to baptise, even ‘in case of great cause and necessity,’ as it is expressed in the rubric before the office for private baptism, it is plain from this judgment of the Church, so clearly declared in this rubric, that it is better a child should die than that a lay person should undertake to baptise it. For, as Bishop Fleetwood argues very rightly, ‘Is it as well for a child to die *unbaptised*, as baptised by a laic, whose baptism must not be reiterated?’ But the Church, by this rubric, has plainly declared it her opinion, that only the lawful minister shall baptise, even in case of great cause and necessity; and this rubric was made to prevent laymen attempting it in such cases. ‘Men,’ as that author observes, ‘may make premises, but consequences make themselves.’ Now the Church has made the premises, and declared that even in case of great necessity baptism must be ministered by a lawful minis-

ter, and not by any lay person; for that was the reason why the words ‘lawful minister’ were added to the rubric. ‘If then,’ as that author goes on very well, ‘baptism be absolutely necessary from a lawful hand, and a lay hand be not a lawful hand, then lay baptism is not the baptism that is absolutely necessary: it must therefore be had from a hand that is lawful.’ Now it matters not whether the king, or the bishops with him, allowed these consequences or not: the premises were put into the liturgy, and are now the declared doctrine of our Church, and the consequences make themselves. If the king and bishops held consequences inconsistent with these premises, they did not put those consequences into the rubric; therefore we are not concerned with their inconsistent consequences, but we are with the premises, which are established both by the laws of Church and state; and we must stick to the consequences which naturally flow from them, not to those which are inconsistent with them. So that, had we nothing more than this rubric to guide us, we might say that we have the countenance of our Church to assert, that baptism not administered by a lawful minister is invalid and null: and forasmuch as our Church allows none to be a lawful minister but one episcopally ordained, we are also countenanced by the Church to assert the invalidity and nullity of baptism administered by persons not episcopally ordained.”

The absence of objections to the practice or to the validity of lay or dissenting baptism between the period of the settlement of the rubric, after the Restoration 1661, and Laurence’s controversy, supposing it to be so, proves nothing; no silence, and no protests, can be accepted either way; the public acts of the Church alone

can be referred to, or argued upon. Besides, how do we know that such as had received dissenters' (so-called) baptism were not constantly baptised in the Church? Or again, how do we know that dissenters baptised at all—or, at any rate, to the extent which they do now?

Of the value of the declaration of the bishops in 1712, so much has been said elsewhere, that it only remains to express great surprise at the observation said to have been made in the judgment already alluded to, that “**ALL** the heads of the Church at that time held baptism administered by lay persons to be valid.” If they had, their judgment was not a synodical decision of the Church: but that they did not do so, see note to p. lxiii.

And though it seems scarcely right to criticise a document which, as at present reported, may be full of errors; the statement, that Waterland admitted that “the stream of authority and of *antiquity* was against them,” is sufficiently startling to any one who has read a single line of the controversy. What he did say may be found at p. cl.

The only remaining argument in favour of the validity of dissenters' baptism is one upon which Sir J. Nicholl's judgment in 1809 is said to have been founded. In the rubric contained in the office for private baptism certain questions are appointed to be asked by the minister who admits the child into the Church, by which the validity of the previous baptism is to be established.

They are:

“By whom was the child baptised?”

“Who was present when this child was baptised?”

“Because some things essential to this sacrament may happen to be omitted, through fear or haste, in

such times of extremity, therefore I demand further of you—

“With what matter was this child baptised?”

“With what words was this child baptised?”

And in the concluding rubric it is said—

“If it cannot appear that the child was baptised with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost (which are essential parts of baptism), then,” &c.

From these passages it is argued that the matter and form are the only essential parts of baptism, because these too are introduced as essentials, and so described ; and that the clause so referring to them, from its position, excludes the person officiating from being an essential also. But surely it is forgotten that these questions are only to be asked “if the child were baptised by any other lawful minister than the minister of the parish.” The Church presupposes the lawfulness of the ministration before the questions, designed merely to establish the fact, are to be asked. We are never even to inquire till we are sure that the minister was a lawful one.

Into other arguments, with which this question has been encumbered, it is not the present editor's province to enter, partly because they have been answered by anticipation in various places of the subsequent pages, and partly because, even if these conclusions be true, some of which are certainly not so, they are altogether wide of the mark ; such as the gratuitous axiom of *factum valet*, &c.—the alleged unchurhing of foreign Protestants—the arguments *ad misericordiam* of the supposed uncharitableness of denying the many thousand invalid baptisms which have passed unnoticed—the authority of

distinguished writers, &c.;—the only matter in dispute being, whether the unauthorised baptisms performed by dissenters, in defiance of the Church, are the sacrament of regeneration at all, according to the recorded judgment of our Church. At present the opinions of those members of our Church to whom deference would be most cheerfully accorded seem to be inclining to a middle course, that dissenters' baptisms, though valid, are imperfect till ratified by confirmation.¹

The respectability both in numbers and intention of such as embrace this view demands that it shall be noticed; although its claims upon attention are founded rather upon its theoretical beauty than its authority. Waterland (p. 190) dismisses this notion with something like contempt: “as to making any thing valid *ex post facto*, by a subsequent confirmation, which was not valid before, it is too romantic a notion to need confuting, having no countenance from Scripture, antiquity, or reason, or the principles of our Church, or our office for confirmation, which supposes persons baptised, validly baptised before.” Indeed, it must come to this: dissenters' baptisms are either actual baptisms, or they are none at all: for what can there be between them? Do they convey grace? Are they the laver of regeneration? If they do, then being essentially perfect, confirmation does no more *in kind* to them than it does to Church-baptisms, and they require confirmation only for the same reason as baptisms in the Church do; there is no inherent inefficiency, no absence of the gift of salvation, in them, which confirmation supplies. No argument can be drawn from the im-

¹ This view has been well defended by Nathaniel Marshall in a dissertation contained in his translation of St. Cyprian.

position of hands practised in the early Church in the case of those baptised by heretics: this rite was intended not to supply the baptismal grace which was wanting, but was applied in their case, as in the case of all penitents, merely as reconciling the parties to Catholic communion who had been living in heresy or schism; the notion of a supplement or substitute for baptism did not enter into it. But if, on the other hand, unauthorised baptisms are not the channels of the new birth, *the one baptism*, they are nothing. It is not correct to say that they must be repeated—they have not been. The notion of the grace being seminal—being conveyed in baptism, however invalid, and lying dormant until forced into life by the dew of confirmation, is exceedingly beautiful—so characteristic of those truly pious and gentle minds who entertain it—so full of comfort and hopefulness,—that it is with real pain that one is compelled to disturb this illusion by asking for proof of all this. Does it amount to much more than a theory? It is most true that the Church might, if she chose, determine to supply the deficiency of dissenters' baptisms by episcopal imposition of hands; but has she done so? Where does she state it? Granting even that the ancient Church used this rite with this intent, which is not the fact, ancient heretical baptisms are totally different in kind from modern dissenters' baptisms. So aware was even Bingham that this position was utterly untenable, that he proposed a new form of confirmation for the reception of those who had received dissenters' baptisms; a pregnant proof of his conviction that our form as it stands would not meet the case. The confirmation-office declares that those receiving it are regenerate. But in the cases of faultiness supposed, how

far does it extend? Is the loss of grace total or partial? Does such loss increase or remain stationary? Is the baptism a sacrament or not? Does it give the Holy Spirit? Is it the “remission of sins?” One cannot understand how these things can be matters of degree: the gift of baptism, as such, must be a single act, complete in itself: the guilt of Adam must be cleansed wholly, once and for all, or not at all. It sounds harsh to say so; but we must not, when endeavouring as in God’s sight to vindicate His truth, allow our feelings to enter into our decisions.

In conclusion, the editor of the present publication earnestly begs that it may not be concluded, that to deny the validity of dissenters’ baptisms is to affirm that such as have received it cannot be saved. God pardon the presumption and hardness of such a thought! Surely He of His infinite mercy will not visit upon men all the loss which their sins, either of ignorance or of presumption, or which sad circumstances, entail upon them. Nor is it to exasperate dissenters that this work is republished. On the contrary, it may be, through God’s blessing, that it may be permitted to sink into earnest minds, even among dissenters—that it may teach them that we know the spiritual loss under which they are pining—that we mourn for it—that we, with all affection, implore them to come at once to the great Fountain of living waters. And it is with this hope that all allusion to any local or temporary circumstances, which might cause heart-burnings, has been studiously avoided in what the editor has found it his duty to say; and though this may have occasioned incompleteness, he trusts that his motive will be accepted. Should it so be that his readers are disposed neither to accept his own reason-

ings or those of his author, the editor begs to subjoin the observation of one which may lead some wavering minds at least to a comforting decision.

“At present I am not able to prove the validity of sacraments administered by lay persons in any case whatsoever ; nor, on the other hand, am I willing to pronounce them utterly invalid. But this I own, that if it had been my misfortune to have been baptised by such a person as was not authorised by God to perform that office, I would be conditionally rebaptised, after the same manner which our Church prescribes in doubtful cases. For I do not think that it would otherwise be possible for me to enjoy peace of conscience for one single moment.” (Bennet, *Rights of Clergy*.)

May God’s Holy Spirit influence His Church to decide this matter according to His will ; and may He give us grace, each in our respective stations, to accept that judgment with submission, obedience, and love.

Hoxton, May 18, 1841.

W. S.

P.S.—The Editor begs to refer such readers as require information upon the point to a recent publication of high authority—Mr. Blunt’s *Dissenters’ Baptisms and Church-Burials* ;—a work which the Editor of the present sheets had no opportunity of consulting until they were in type.



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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

HE occasion of writing this essay is sufficiently declared in the title-page;¹ and the design thereof is to contribute something towards the recovery of those who are almost drowned in the fatal error of thinking that they receive Christian sacraments, when in truth and reality they receive none at all.

[¹ “Lay Baptism invalid: an essay to prove that such Baptism is null and void, when administered in opposition to the divine right of the apostolical succession. Occasioned chiefly by the anti-episcopal usurpations of our English dissenting teachers. The fourth edition, more correct than the former; in which some notice is taken of an ecclesiastical declaration proposed to be established, about ten years since, in favour of such usurpations. By R. LAURENCE, M.A. St. John xx. 21, 23: *As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them.* Heb. v. 4: *No man taketh this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron.* London: printed for Richard King, at the Prince's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard. 1723.”]

I do not doubt but I shall procure to myself many enemies by this attempt ; but no matter for that, if this my poor endeavour can but prove effectual to stir up the clergy, whose office it is, to preach and write frequently to disabuse mankind in so weighty an affair.

I am well aware how diligent the adversaries will be to find what faults they can ; and I am not so vain as to think myself to have escaped altogether free from some in this essay ; and therefore, that I might take away all occasion of unnecessary dispute, and save myself the trouble of future answers to what may be cavilled at by some, I once for all declared, in the second edition of this book, what I thought necessary for the more clear explanation of my design and meaning in some passages, which otherwise I feared might have given offence.

In this fourth edition all those places are more correct in the body of the book itself, and therefore not necessary here to be particularly explained, except in the Appendix,

Page 90, and forward, where, in answer to the 10th objection, I have attempted to prove the validity of holy orders conferred on unbaptised persons. What I have proposed in order thereto, I desire the judicious lovers of truth to interpret only as an essay. I am not so fond of any thing I have

said about it, as to strive with those who may happen to differ from me: nay, more; if, after due consideration, it should be generally condemned by orthodox learned men, I shall acquiesce, acknowledging that a man ought to be a member before he should be admitted to be a minister of Christ in His Church.¹

What I have said in the following and other parts of this book, in general terms, relating to lay baptism, I think necessary by way of precaution here to explain, by telling my reader that I design thereby to mean such baptism as is performed by persons who never received any real authority from their bishops, or else by such as were never really authorised, and yet act in opposition to episcopacy. Whether bishops, the spiritual governors of the Church, who have power from Christ to give a man a standing commission to be a priest, cannot give him a commission *pro hac vice*, in cases of extreme necessity, to do a sacerdotal act,—I will not presume to determine; neither do I think it necessary to dispute against those who affirm that they can, provided the layman be in communion with, and an actual member of, that particular national or provincial Church over which the bishops

[¹ See Hickes' remarks on this head, in his letter to Lawrence, a portion of which is subjoined to this preface.]

preside who give such an occasional commission ; provided also that they give him this commission in *such a manner*, and with such *limitations* and *restrictions*, as that there may be no more reason to suspect the truth of the divine authority residing in him for the executing of that sacerdotal act *pro hic et nunc*, in a case of extreme necessity, than there is to question the validity of the *standing commission* of the ordinary priesthood. For then, in such case, the man acts not of himself, or as a mere laic ; he is supposed not to administer by virtue of any canon of foreign councils, but *as* empowered by the authority of those particular bishops he is subject to. And I think it necessary to make these provisoës, because, on the other hand, it is well known how apt men have been, and still are, to pervert and abuse this power and authority, and misapply it to wrong and ill purposes, by unsound and false inferences ; as I myself have found by experience in my conversation relating to my own particular case,—so far as at last to make the Christian priesthood be esteemed by the heedless multitude as a thing of no necessary use and value at all : and for this reason it is that I have endeavoured so much (in this essay, p. 48, and answer to objections, pp. 91 and 111) to shew the ill uses which men are apt to make of the Church's power.

After all, whether a Church has or has not the power of authorising her own laics, as above specified, to baptise in cases of extremity, I think I need make no scruple to say,

1. That the practice of one national or provincial Church in this case cannot authorise the laics of another such Church, which gives them no such authority, as here with us.
2. That no Church can have any power to allow laics of opposite communions to her to administer baptism in that case, much less when there is no necessity at all, as certainly there is none in our dissenters' baptisms.
3. That no Church has, or can have, power to confirm baptism so administered, because confirmation supposes the person to have been validly baptised before, and his baptism to be consummated and finished thereby.

The author of a pamphlet, intituled *New Dangers to the Christian Priesthood*, who with great rudeness, inconsistent with his priestly character, has, by *partial* quotations from my two books of *Sacerdotal Powers* and *Dissenters' Baptism null and void*, endeavoured to persuade the world that I separate the divine commission from the Christian ministry, and that I hold and affirm that bishops have power to authorise laymen to

baptise, would have done but common justice to have considered, and let the world see, what I have said here in answer to a question put to me concerning such a power in bishops. He knew in his conscience, or might know, that this was in the second edition of *Lay Baptism invalid*, for he refers to that edition in his abusive pamphlet. He cannot deny that in the same edition, p. 155, I use these very words, viz. “*When it can be proved* that Christ has vested His Church with such a power, it will necessarily follow,” &c. He might have known that this was in answer to an objection, which affirmed that the “validity of lay baptism stands on the authority of the Church’s power to *grant such license* to laymen in extremities.” He cannot choose but be conscious to himself, if he read the book, that I, in the same edition, pp. 155, 156, shewed the danger of the Church’s making use of such a supposed power ; these passages are in pp. 110, 111, and 112 of this present edition. His conscience must also tell him that in p. 83 of *Sacerdotal Powers* (which he pretends to quote, though he does it very unfairly), I say, concerning baptisms administered by virtue of the canon of the council of Eliberis, these words, “*If any thing can be said* for the validity of those lay baptisms.” And, p. 85, concerning midwife-baptism,

allowed by the Church of Rome, I say thus: “ So that upon supposition, which *I dare not grant*, that those midwife-baptisms could be defended as valid, upon the account of their bishops having first granted them such power,” &c.

Lastly, to let the world see a little more of the integrity of this writer, he cannot be ignorant that he is very unjust in his quotation from pp. 6 and 7 of *Dissenters' Baptism null and void*; for in p. 7, before the period is finished, I say, concerning the Church's power to authorise her laymen to baptise, thus: “ Which, whether *right or no*, is no ways applicable to our laymen and dissenters, who are utterly destitute of any such plea,” &c. By all which passages the impartial reader may easily see, that I do not affirm that bishops have power so to authorise laymen; but that, if bishops could be supposed or proved to have such a power, yet even then our dissenters' baptisms are null and void notwithstanding. The whole argument runs upon, if they had power, whether right or no, &c. But these necessary connexions he purposely omitted, because he knew that if he had inserted them, it would have discovered the falseness of his charge, and have spoiled his design of endeavouring to render a person odious, when he was not able to confute that truth which he had asserted. How awkwardly so-

ever I may have defended it, that must be left to more impartial judges than this gentleman has shewed himself to be. However, thus much he and his friends have discovered by their attempts hitherto, that they dare venture no farther than to nibble at such little things as are wholly foreign to the *main matter* disputed, and this they do without any argument at all; while the merits of the cause lie neglected by them, as being either in their opinion not worth their regard, or else because the invalidity of lay baptism is too great a truth for them expressly and directly to endeavour to overthrow.

This writer calls upon me to answer him positively, whether I will hold and maintain that “bishops can authorise laymen to baptise.” I hereby assure him that I will give him no positive answer to this question. I will not declare myself absolutely either for or against that power for cases of extremity, but leave it as I found it, and will keep my own private opinion about it to myself; which I am sure I have a right to do, without any obligation to publish it for the sake of such unreasonable and ill-grounded challenges as this angry gentleman has made me. And this shall be all the public notice that I will take of his unhandsome performances—and which, indeed, is more than due to them—after I have told him, that some great men hold that bi-

shops, by their apostolic authority, can authorise laymen to baptise in cases of extremity, *i. e.* in want of a priest; that it is with these gentlemen I have treated in my three books, giving them *argumentum ad hominem*, upon their own principles. That there are others who affirm that bishops have not such power; and that it is my assertion, that, whether they have or have not this power, my principles stand firm, that persons not commissioned, not authorised,—*i. e.* not really authorised, for it is not authority, if it is not real,—do not minister valid baptism. And this is the case of our dissenters' baptisms, let what will become of that other question. For if bishops have not such a power, then it is plain that the ministration of baptism is an incommunicable function of the standing priesthood; and so no lay ministration whatsoever can be valid by being allowed, tolerated, licensed, approved of, or authorised by bishops. This effectually ruins the cause of necessity, which our author would plead; because, if bishops cannot authorise laymen validly to baptise in want of a priest, it must be because lay Christians, as such, have not a *capacity* to receive the divine commission for such an exigence. And if they have not this capacity, then the exigence itself cannot empower or authorise them, except a negative has more of potentiality than the

positive power of the bishops, which is absurd. And therefore our dissenters, upon this supposition, are utterly excluded from ministering valid baptism ; as they would, also, if necessity could empower laymen ; for they are under no case of necessity, where priests are to be had. And again : if bishops have such a power to authorise their own laymen, as before specified, our bishops have not so authorised their laymen ; and if they had, our dissenting teachers are not *those laymen*, but laymen anti-episcopal, in rebellion against episcopacy itself, who intrude into other men's provinces, and wickedly attempt, uncalled and unsent, to minister where there is not so much as any pretence of necessity for their intrusion. And therefore, in both cases, our dissenters cannot minister valid baptism.

This, concerning their dear friends the dissenters, the adversaries know they cannot get over ; and therefore it is that they make such a bustle to raise a dust, that men's eyes may be blinded, and so hindered from seeing this great truth. To obstruct which, they endeavour to persuade the world that the priesthood itself is in new dangers from those very doctrines which are the only support of it ; while they themselves are such enemies to the priesthood, that they are endeavouring effectually to destroy it by their pernicious principles, opposing the

Church's spiritual independency, the Christian altar and sacrifice, absolution, and the ministration of baptism as Christ Himself appointed it. And this puts me in mind of a late very dangerous step that was going to be made, and which, if it had taken effect, might, without an extraordinary preventing Providence, in a little time have destroyed the whole sacerdotal power and authority with us ; and this was an attempt to establish a strange, and before to us unheard of, declaration, that (as those who indited it say), “in conformity with the judgment and practice of the Catholic Church, and of the Church of England in particular . . . such persons as have already been baptised in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (although their baptism was *irregular, for want of a proper administrator*), ought not to be baptised again.”¹

[¹ The upper house of convocation sent down, May 14, 1712, the following declaration to the lower house. “Forasmuch as divers persons have possessed the minds of many people in the communion of our Church with doubts and scruples about the validity of their baptism, we, the president and bishops . . . have thought it incumbent on us to declare, in conformity with the judgment and practice of the Catholic Church of Christ, and of the Church of England in particular, that such persons as have been already baptised in or with water, in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy

The plain English of which is, that such persons as have already been, contrary to the law of Christ, washed or sprinkled with water, by any one whatsoever, whether unauthorised man, woman, or child,

Ghost, though their baptism was irregular, for want of a proper administrator, ought not to be baptised again. This we do to prevent, and (to use the words of Archbishop Whitgift on this very point) ‘not to bring confusion into the Church—for let men take heed that they usurp not an office whereunto they be not called, for God will call them to an account for so doing—but to teach a truth, to take a yoke of doubtfulness from men’s consciences, and to resist an error not differing much from Donatism and Anabaptism.’ ”

The lower house, by a great majority, carried that the paper sent down from the bishops should not be considered during the sitting of the synods concurrent with the present session of parliament. The members of the minority complained ; and a committee was appointed to draw up reasons for this resolution. On May 23, the prolocutor of the lower house carried up the following paper.

“ The lower house having, on May 14th, received from your lordships a paper relating to the validity of baptism administered by unauthorised persons, did enter into a debate thereupon, and thought it no ways proper to take into consideration the matter of that paper during the sitting of this convocation ; and have resolved to lay before your lordships some of the reasons for which they declined entering into the consideration of the said paper.

“ First. Because the validity of such baptism is a point which the Catholic Church, and the Church of England in particular,

Christian, Jew, or heathen—nay, whether they washed themselves, or let one of those others do it—provided it was but done with these words, “In the name of the Father,” &c., ought not to be baptised by a proper administrator, whom Christ has appointed. For in all these cases the washing is irregular, for want of a proper administrator, and therefore not what deserves the name of *Christian baptism*, though hath hitherto avoided to determine by any synodical declaration.

“Secondly. Because the inconveniences manifestly attending such a determination would, in their humble opinion, far outweigh the conveniences proposed by it; especially at a time when the *divine authority* of the priesthood is so openly struck at by some, and the advantage of an *episcopal mission*, derived by an undoubted succession from the apostles, is so much undervalued by others.

“But thirdly. Were it thought proper synodically to consider and determine this matter, yet they humbly conceive that nothing of this kind ought to be done but in a full assembly of the clergy, after due notice given to all their members to attend, and afford their assistance on so important an occasion.”

Against this resolution of the lower house Dr. Cannon delivered a written protest, and denied that it might be entered in the acts of the day. His motion was rejected; but leave was given to members “to enter their dissent without assigning reasons.” Accordingly, Dr. Cannon and seven others recorded their dissent from the paper presented by the lower house.—*Annals of Queen Anne*, vol. ii. p. 376-379.]

the declaration begs the question that it is so, by saying, “such persons as have already been baptised,” &c. For this irregularity is an essential irregularity, because contrary to the positive institution of Christian baptism; and it is irregular for no other reason, but its being without, or contrary to, that rule, as this book is designed to prove. An endeavour to make the world believe, that such washings as are irregular, for want of a *proper* administrator, are valid baptisms, and this without any limitations, either for cases of necessity, or for the excluding of women, heathens, or stage-players, &c., is such a latitude, that it does not fall short of even the worst corruptions of the Church of Rome. Nay, the decrees of some of their popes, &c., concerning midwife-baptism, and that given by pagans, limit them to cases of necessity; but this designed declaration makes not even this provision, to secure the authority of the Christian priesthood for the administration of baptism, but opens a door for all intruders, even where there is no pretence of necessity. It advises, indeed, that “men take heed that they usurp not an office whereunto they be not called; for God will call them to account for so doing.” But alas, what effect can this advice have, when the declaration before pronounces their ministrations valid; valid without any exception of

time, person, place, or circumstance? Will God call men to account for their valid ministrations? For their effecting that which He has appointed to be effected? For their doing of that which He concurs with; and from the valid performance whereof He has by no law excluded them? For if He has by any of His laws excluded them from the valid ministration of Christian baptism, then their attempt to minister it is an invalid act. If He has by no law excluded them from the valid ministration thereof, then their attempt to minister it is no breach of any law of His; for where there is no law, there is no transgression; and consequently they will not be called to account for it; which plainly shews the great inconsistency of such a declaration. Besides, this declaration was designed, it says, "to teach a truth, to take a yoke of doubtfulness from men's consciences, and to resist an error *not much* differing from *Donatism* and *Anabaptism*."

The supposed truth it would teach has been seen already. Its latitude, its contrariety to the Scripture, to the judgment of the universal Church, and of the Church of England in particular, which never made a law or canon of so universal and unlimited a nature, are evident to all serious and knowing inquirers into this matter. Tertullian

himself, who by degrees fell into this singular latitude of allowing laymen to be priests in cases of necessity, contrary to the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church, expressly and absolutely excludes women's power to baptise (*De Baptismo*, cap. 17).¹ The Constitutions of the Apostles² (book iii. chap. vi. 9, 10) repudiate all lay ministrations, and particularly lay baptism and baptism by women. So does St. Epiphanius against the Collyridians utterly disallow of baptism by women (see his works,

[¹ Tertullian. *de Baptismo*, c. 17. Petulantia autem mulieris quæ usurpavit docere, utique non etiam tingendi jus sibi pariet: ut quemadmodum illa baptismum auferebat, ita aliqua per se eum conferat.—Quam enim fidei proximum videretur, ut is [S. Paulus] docendi et tingendi daret feminæ potestatem, qui ne dicere quidem constanter mulieri permisit?]

Ibid. *de Virg. veland.* c. 9. Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui: sed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis munera, nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vindicare.]

[² *Constit. Apost.* lib. iii. cap. 9. περὶ δὲ τοῦ γυναικας βαπτίζειν, γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν, ὅτι κίνδυνος οὖν μικρὸς ταῖς τοῦτο ἐπιχειρούσαις· διὸ οὖν συμβουλεύομεν, ἐπισφαλὲς γὰρ, μᾶλλον δὲ παράνομον καὶ ἀσεβές.

Cap. 10. ἀλλ' οὔτε λαϊκοῖς ἐπιτρέπομεν ποιεῖν τι τῶν ἱερατικῶν ἔργων· οἶον θυσίαν, ἢ βάπτισμα, ἢ χειροθέσιαν, ἢ εὐλογίαν μικρὰν ἢ μεγάλην, οὐχ ἔαυτῷ γὰρ τις λαμβάνει τὴν τιμὴν, ἀλλὰ ὁ καλούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ· διὰ γὰρ τῆς ἐπιθέσεως τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ ἐπισκόπου δέδοται ἡ τοιαύτη ἀξία.]

book iii. tom. 2):¹ which testimonies I thought proper to add here to those of my preliminary discourse, upon this occasion, that men may see what a pretended truth some would establish, and how conformable it is to the judgment and practice of the Catholic Church.

The “yoke of doubtfulness,” &c. would be laid heavier on, rather than taken from, men’s consciences by such declaration; which says, that “God will call men to account for usurping an office (of baptising) whereunto they be *not called*.” For, will not the scrupulous person, who was pretendedly baptised by one of these, and comes to know it, be very apt to say, “How can I rest satisfied in a baptism declared to be irregular for want of a proper administrator, *i. e.* one called of God, when the uncalled pretended administrator will, by God Himself, be called to account, as an usurper of the priestly office, for baptising me? Will God judge him for so doing? and shall I escape His judgment for knowingly concurring with and acquiescing in his sinful act? By what means shall I extricate myself out of this difficulty? If it is sin in him, it is so in me too, by my approving of it; and yet,

[¹ Epiphanius *contra Collyridios adv. Hæres.* lib. iii. tom. ii. p. 1059. ed. Petav. ἀπ’ αἰῶνος οὐδαμῶς γυνὴ ἱεράτευσεν οὐκ αὐτὴ Εὔα . . . οὐδὲ βάπτισμα διδόναι πεπίστευται Μαρία.]

that this scruple may cease, approve of it I must. But how can I approve of it, since it was sinful in the very act? And thus I find no relief from such a declaration, which involves me in sin, and prohibits my being extricated out of it."

The supposed error it was designed to oppose is this : that pretended baptism, administered without the divine authority or commission, *i. e.* by one who has not this commission, is not Christian baptism, but null and void. Is not this much differing from the real error of Donatism, which was, that the Donatists rebaptised those who came over to them from the Catholic Church, though they had been before rightly baptised in or with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and by one in real valid holy orders too ? What has this to do with the matter before us ?

And as for Anabaptism, its error is twofold : first, it nulls baptism in an infant, howsoever and by whomsoever administered ; secondly, in grown persons, if they were not plunged all over in water : in both which they make the *age* of the person baptised, and the *very great quantity* of water sufficient to cover the person, essential to the ministration of the sacrament ; errors so infinitely different from the case before us, that one would wonder how men could invent the notion of their being not much

different from what is asserted, and, I hope, fairly proved, to be a great truth in this essay.

The author of a pamphlet, called *The Judgment of the Church of England in the case of Lay Baptism and Dissenters' Baptism*, has published what he calls *The Second Part of the Judgment*, &c. It is an amazing thing to see men so expose themselves: for this gentleman amuses the world with a repetition of all that he had said before; and gives his reader the same things over again, but in other words, and in a method something diversified from the former; putting people to an unnecessary charge, besides a trial of their patience, to bear with the reading a second time what they had read before; which is still the more aggravated by his want of argument; by his not so much as endeavouring to confute the reasons brought against his first part, in the answer thereto, called *Dissenters' Baptism null and void*—for he tells his reader that he does not design this as a reply to that book; by his unbecoming language, in giving ill names to what he knows he cannot confute; and, lastly, by his industriously evading the *merits of the cause*; when he knows that the Church of England has concerned herself therewith; that her articles of religion are built upon it; and that he is obliged in his own defence to enter into it.

[He¹ is pleased to call the priest who baptised R. L. "an *irregular curate*, who acquainted neither the minister of the parish, nor the bishop, with the true state of the case," &c. I must needs say, in defence of that gentleman, that it would be happy for our Church if this author and some of his friends were but as regular as he. He was by no law of our Church obliged to acquaint the minister of the parish where R. L. was baptised with the case; for he was none of his underlings, neither did he receive any pay from him: he had his proper diocesan's general license to baptise adult persons, without giving any particular notice first to the bishop. By virtue of that license he regularly baptised R. L. without first acquainting the bishop, the 31st of March, 1708, being Wednesday in passion-week, and therefore on a holyday, in public, immediately after the second lesson at evening-prayer, in presence of a great congregation, the church-doors being open: he did it hypothetically; *i. e.* "If thou art not already baptised, I baptise thee," &c.; and this, not that the case required it, but because R. L. would not let him know the case itself, but begged baptism at his hands, only upon this general account, that he had discovered sufficient reasons to convince him

[¹ This passage is omitted in the fourth edition; but it seemed advisable that it should be reprinted.]

that he had not been yet validly baptised; that he desired the said curate not to be too curious in inquiring of him the reasons, because it was not fit for him to discover them to him; and those to whom he had discovered them could give him no satisfactory arguments to convince him that he might desist from endeavouring to obtain catholic baptism; that he would, therefore, only inquire into R. L.'s faith and manners, and upon due satisfaction about them give him hypothetical baptism, to avoid the imputation of being irregular: which, accordingly, upon such satisfaction, he did; for which I praise and glorify God, and reverence and esteem him, His regular and rightly ordained minister.]

This author mightily triumphs in bishops confirming children pretendedly baptised by dissenting teachers; as if they, therefore, acknowledged those baptisms to be valid. But I can tell him that there are some who say that those baptisms are not valid before confirmation, but made valid by confirmation; this (though I absolutely deny it) I can prove to be the foundation upon which confirmation has been given to persons so pretendedly baptised. And our author would do well to consider whether those bishops he speaks of did not confirm them upon the same foundation, before he so positively affirms that those bishops allowed their baptisms to be valid:

for if it is true that some act upon this false foundation, others may have done so likewise ; and this will spoil our writer's supposition, however insufficient to make those baptisms valid, as I have endeavoured to prove in this essay.

I have, in this fourth edition, added some further arguments to prove the main proposition, so much avoided by this author, and endeavoured to answer new objections, for the satisfaction of some who may be led away by them. I have nothing more to request of my reader than Christian justice and equity in his censures, and that he would heartily join with me in this prayer to Almighty God, that it would please Him to bring into the way of truth all such as have erred and are deceived.

[*Note on Preface, p. lv.*]

“ I am extremely pleased with the modest reflection you make in your premonition upon what you had said to prove the validity of holy orders conferred on unbaptised persons. For whereas you distinguish qualifications for the ministry into personal and authoritative, give me leave to tell you, that I think all qualifications for it are personal ; and that of personal qualifications the want of some only make a man unworthy of the ministry, but not incapable of it ; but the want of others make him utterly incapable of it, or of being separated or ordained to it. The personal qualifications of the first sort may

be called moral, as purity, humility, sobriety, and all other virtues and graces that are comprehended in holiness of life; the want of which make a man unworthy, as of holy orders after baptism, so of baptism itself, but yet do not null or make void either of them when the person is baptised or ordained. The second sort of qualifications are either natural, acquired, or legal, which last may be also called political, as relating to the fundamental or positive laws of the Church. Among acquired qualifications we may safely reckon literature, the utter want of which perfectly disables a man from performing priestly offices, and by consequence makes his orders void. Then, as for natural qualifications, they belong either to the body or the mind; to the body, as the natural faculties of speaking and hearing, the want of which, without any canons¹ or positive laws of the Church, in my judgment, utterly unqualifies a man for the priesthood; and therefore holy orders conferred on a deaf and dumb man must be null and void, because they render him incapable of performing ministerial offices. The like I may say of a man who hath neither hands nor sight, which joint defects, I think, incapacitate such a person, though never so morally worthy, for the priestly office, and that by consequence he cannot effectually be made a priest. Qualifications which belong to the mind are, understanding and memory, the want of which in idiots, lunatics, and maniacs, makes them so utterly incapable of receiving holy orders, that upon supposition any such were ordained to the priesthood, his orders would be null and void. Thus much, sir, with submission to the learned, I have said of personal qualifications for

[¹ Can. Apost. 69. [aliter 76 and 77. εἰ τις ἀνάπηρος ἢ τὸν ὁφθαλμὸν, ἢ τὸ σκέλος πεπληγμένος—κωφὸς δὲ ὁν καὶ τυφλὸς, μὴ γινέσθω ἐπίσκοπος. Labbe, vol. i. p. 41.]

the priesthood that are moral or natural. The legal, likewise, are of two sorts : first, such as are fundamental to the Christian society, or constitution of the Church ; or secondly, such as are superinduced by the positive laws of the Church. Of the first sort, in my opinion, baptism certainly is ; the want of which therefore, I think, must utterly render a man incapable of being a Christian priest, because it makes him utterly incapable of being a Christian in the strict and proper sense of the word, as it signifies a member of the Church, who, as such, hath a right to receive the holy eucharist, which to an unbaptised person is *θυσία ἀθύτος*, a sacrifice of no more effect than if he had not come to it and partaken of it. How, then, can a man be made capable to administer that holy sacrament to others who hath no right to receive it ; or make others members of the Church of which he is not a member himself ? As to the latter sort of legal qualifications, the want of which do make a man incapable of holy orders, and his orders null after he is ordained by the canons of the Church, I have no occasion to discourse ; and therefore, in answer to the objection made against you, give me leave to observe, that I presume it relates to this case, which is supposed, but never proved, to have happened, viz. that when a person *bona fide* believing himself to have had valid priestly baptism, but indeed had not, yet happens to be ordained *bona fide* by the bishop, his orders notwithstanding are null and void. This, I presume, must be the case in which the objection is put, and not where the person ordaining and the person ordained both know that the latter never received any other than lay baptism, by one presuming to baptise in opposition to the Church. These two cases are so vastly different, that I believe, as to the latter, all divines truly learned in their profession will make no difficulty to determine that orders so conferred are null and void. But as to

the former case, upon which I take it for granted the objection proceeds, we must have recourse to equity, which, in such cases of perfect invincible ignorance, takes place in ecclesiastical as well as civil cases, in divine as well as human laws. Therefore, sir, I make no scruple to tell you, that a priest in this case now before us is in the eyes of God a valid priest, and that all his priestly administrations, by his merciful allowance, are also valid and effectual, and as acceptable as those of other priests, to Him who can make allowances where men cannot, and ratify what men, if it came to their knowledge, could not ratify, but must pronounce null. You know the priesthood was hereditary among the Jews; and it is not unreasonable to suppose, that one priest or other in such a long tract of time might, without any suspicion, have an adulterous son; upon which supposition, I believe you will not doubt, that when he was at age to administer, God would reckon him among the priests, and accept of all his administrations at the altar; or if such an one happened to be high-priest, even in the very holy of holies, though if his incapacity had been known, he must have been deposed from the priesthood.

“Sir, in this way of stating the case I am far from encouraging any person so baptised to take upon him the priesthood. For if such an one, knowing himself to have no other baptism, offers himself to take holy orders, I think he commits a piacular sin as great as that of Korah; nay, if such a one but suspecting himself to have no other baptism, takes holy orders, I think he commits a sin of presumption, and is obliged to a strict inquiry, whether or no he was so baptised; and if he finds he was, he is bound, as he expects forgiveness of God, to cancel his orders, and abdicate himself from the priesthood. But to prevent either of these supposable cases, you, like a good Christian, have inculcated to the governors of the Church

how much it is for her security, and ought to be their care, to require of all candidates of the ministry certificates of their baptism, as well as of their good conversation; after which I beg leave to say, according to my distinction of personal qualifications for the priesthood, that the want of the former makes a man incapable to receive holy orders, but the want of the latter only makes him unworthy to receive them."

Hickes' Letter to Laurence, p. 35-40.

A

PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE

OF THE

VARIOUS OPINIONS OF THE FATHERS

CONCERNING

Rebaptisation and invalid Baptisms:

WITH REMARKS.

IN St. Cyprian's days,¹ about the middle of the third century, arose a great debate in the Church concerning the validity of baptism administered by such as were then either heretics or schismatics. St. Cyprian, with the rest of the bishops of the African churches, together with many of the eastern bishops, maintained that catholic bishops were obliged to condemn all such baptisms, and to hold them void and null; and by consequence not strait to confirm, but first to baptise all such as, having received no other than those false baptisms, in those false and anti-

[¹ St. Cyprian was ordained bishop of Carthage A.D. 248; the controversy between him and Stephen commenced A.D. 255; and he suffered martyrdom A.D. 258.]

christian communions, left them, and came over to the one true catholic and only salutary communion.

Stephen, bishop of Rome, and his party, maintained that, by the evangelical law, catholic bishops were bound to ratify heretical and schismatical baptisms, and to hold them good and valid ; and to admit such as, having been baptised by heretics or schismatics, deserted them, and came over to the true catholic communion, without giving them catholic baptism, or using any other rite at their reception than that of imposing the hand for the collation of the Holy Ghost.

The Stephanians mustered up a great many arguments for the validity of such baptisms. They pleaded that heretics themselves were not so nice as to baptise those who came over from other heresies to their communion ; that all *catechumeni* who died unbaptised were not therefore damned, much less those who had received baptism though from heretics or schismatics ;¹ that to refuse those who were willing

[¹ Bingham, vol. viii. p. 131, new edition, *Scholastical History of Lay Baptism*, part i. Appendix. “I desire him (Laurence) to inform the world in what writing of the Stephanians he finds it maintained, that they who received baptism from heretics or schismatics were in a state of salvation.” To which Laurence replies (*Lay Baptism invalid*, part ii. preface, p. xi.), that as Stephen maintained the validity of such baptism, so he held the persons who had received it to be in a state of salvation, “otherwise what signified the *validity* of their baptism ?” And he refers to St. Cyprian’s epistles to Jubaianus and Pompeius, and Firmilian’s epistle to St. Cy-

to forsake heresy or schism, unless they would consent to be rebaptised, was to obstruct their coming over; that those who had been baptised by Philip in Samaria were not rebaptised by the apostles when they came among them (Acts viii. 16), and that they received imposition of hands only, for the collation of the Holy Ghost; that though some, in St. Paul's time, preached Christ out of envy and strife, *i. e.* from a contentious and schismatical humour, yet he was pleased that Christ was preached (Phil. i. 15);¹ that some schismatics, particularly the Novatians, prian, which will be cited. To which (*Schol. Hist.* part ii. p. 327) Bingham answers, that Stephen believed the validity of the baptisms of heretics, but not their salvability: men may have valid baptism, and yet be in a state of damnation, as was Simon Magus. And he charges Laurence with confounding valid baptism and saving baptism; and also with asserting that Stephen held that heretics and schismatics were in a state of salvation, while they continued in heresy and schism. In his preface (p. xlivi.) to the supplement to parts i. and ii. of *Lay Baptism invalid*, Laurence replies to Bingham, and vindicates himself from having made any such charge against Stephen. He (Laurence) spoke of Stephen holding the salvability of *those baptised by* heretics and schismatics; not of Stephen holding the salvability of heretics themselves. This, being the first occasion of introducing the matter, may serve as a specimen of this very interesting controversy.]

[¹ Not only did Stephen's opponents in this controversy object to the application of this text to the point in dispute, but, as Mr. Keble informs us (Note A. to his Sermon on Primitive Tradition), Tertullian *adv. Marcion*, v. 20, and St. Chrysostom *in loco*, agree in not interpreting this passage of heretical preaching, but of "the occasional, though providen-

observed the due form, and proposed the due interrogatories, in baptism; that the efficacy of the sacraments did not depend on the orthodoxy or the charity of the administrators; and that if persons were baptised in the name of Christ, any manner of way, it was no matter who baptised them. But the main argument, as St. Augustine afterwards reckoned it, was, that Stephen, bishop of Rome, had had it handed down to him by constant tradition from St. Peter and St. Paul, founders of the Church of Rome, that those who came over from heretical or schismatical communions to the communion of the true catholic Church, should not be rebaptised; and that all his predecessors, bishops of Rome, since the days of those apostles, had always conformed their practice to such unquestionable tradition,—they had always ratified, never repudiated, heretical or schismatical baptisms.

The arguments of the Cyprianists against the validity of such baptisms were briefly these. St. Cyprian rejects the baptisms of Novatianus upon this very score, that he was not a bishop.¹ Cornelius was
tial result of St. Paul's imprisonment having been made the subject of conversation at Rome.”]

[¹ The following brief account of Novatian's schism is abridged from Fleury, b. vi. ch. 52. Cornelius was elected bishop of Rome by sixteen bishops. His election was confirmed by the clergy and people, and communicated to all the churches, those of Africa in particular, two of whose bishops, Pompey and Stephen, assisted at it. He was a man of singular purity, and of such modesty that it required violence to compel him to assume the episcopate, in accepting which, he ex-

the only true bishop of Rome ; no valid baptisms could be performed in that Church but by him, or in dependence on him. Novatianus disowned all dependence on him, separated from him, and pretended to be bishop of Rome in opposition to him : his baptisms therefore could not be valid ; they could not be true Christian sacraments. (St. Cyprian's 69th epist.¹) And in the same epistle, these three, 'to set up an episcopal chair,' 'to assume a primacy,' and 'to pretend to a sovereign or independent power of baptising and offering,' *i. e.* consecrating the holy eucharist,—he plainly makes equivalent phrases, and by them ex-

posed himself to martyrdom in that severe persecution, under Decius, which then raged. Novatian alone refused to acknowledge him. This person had originally been a Stoic philosopher ; and while a catechumen, falling into a dangerous sickness, he had received clinic baptism, which, according to the rule of the Church, disqualified him for holy orders ; nor did he receive confirmation by imposition of hands. Notwithstanding the opposition of clergy and laity, he was ordained priest ; and soon after made himself conspicuous by his extreme views against the facility of penitence which at Rome was given to the lapsed. The charges he brought against Cornelius were, that he was a *Libellaticus*, and that he had communicated with bishops who had offered incense ; and on these grounds Novatian separated from communion with his bishop. Nor was this all : under circumstances of great scandal, he procured himself to be ordained to the metropolitan see, which he affected to consider vacant, by three rustic Italian bishops, whose presence, under a weak pretext, he had procured at Rome.]

[¹ Ad Jubaianum. Epist. 73. ed Rigalt. p. 124.]

presses the one crime of Novatianus in standing up as an anti-bishop to Cornelius: that all his ministrations were of the same kidney with those of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, which were wicked, damnable, and naught, because performed in opposition to the high-priest Aaron: that it was unaccountable in *bishops* to ratify heretical or schismatical baptisms; it was a prostitution of the honour both of the catholic Church and the *episcopal college*; it tended to hinder people from coming over from heresy or schism; it encouraged them to think themselves safe and secure enough in either; for if there they had true baptism, why not likewise a true Church and true remission of sins? To weaken the authority of a pretended custom to the contrary, he lays it down for an undoubted truth, that we are not to be determined by any *customs* of that nature, but to examine whether they will bear the test of reason. He assembled at Carthage¹ a council of seventy-one bishops, who confirmed all that had been determined a little before in another synod held in the same city, concerning the baptism of heretics, viz. that it was null and void: and about the same time, immediately after this council, he wrote a long letter to Jubaianus,² a bishop who had consulted him about this question, wherein he urges abundance of reasons and texts of Scripture to support his own opinion, and answered the objections that were brought against it. In an-

[¹ A.D. 256.][² Ep. ad Jubaianum, v. supra.]

other letter, to Pompey, bishop of Sabra,¹ he opposes the *truth* of the Gospel, and the *first traditions* of the apostles, both to the custom and tradition which Stephen had alleged for himself. Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia,² in his letter to St. Cyprian, openly condemns the procedure of Stephen, bishop of Rome (who had answered St. Cyprian very roughly), extols St. Cyprian's conduct, declares himself entirely in favour of his opinion, proves it by several reasons, and assures him it was the ancient custom of the Asiatic churches; and that it had been regulated many years before in two numerous synods held at Synnada and Iconium.³ The same Firmilian answers

[¹ Epist. ad Pompeium. Epist. 74. ed. Rigalt.]

[² Epist. Firmilian. ad Cyprian. 75. ed. Rigalt. Labbe, Concil. vol. i. p. 751. Firmilian was a pupil of Origen.]

[³ The synods of Synnada and Iconium were contemporaneous, and held A.D. 231. That their decisions were grounded upon the Asiatic custom, is testified by Dionysius of Alexandria, apud Euseb. lib. vii. c. 5. p. 323. ed. Reading: and Agrippinus, with a synod of the provinces of Africa and Numidia, had previously (A.D. 200) decided as the Carthaginian councils under Cyprian did. Vincent of Lerins (*Commonit. adv. Hæres.* c. 6) has a strong passage against the doctrine of Agrippinus and Cyprian, although he allows that even by holding what he conceives this pernicious error on the rebaptisation of heretics, they did not lose their catholic character. His great objection to the decision of the African councils was, that the Donatists adopted and acted upon their principles. It is right to mention, that Dionysius of Alexandria would not rebaptise heretics; although Hooker, whose opinion against Cyprian is mentioned elsewhere, allows that in this particular case he

Stephen's plea of the constant tradition he had handed down to him from St. Peter and St. Paul (as before mentioned),—that his, viz. Stephen's, allegation was utterly false; he could have no such tradition from those apostles (*i. e.* St. Peter and St. Paul), from whom he pretended to have it; and that for this very good reason, that in their days there were no heretical communions; by consequence no heretical baptisms, no baptisms out of the true communion of the Church catholic; and that therefore he slandered them by fathering such a tradition on them, seeing it was certain that they taught the quite contrary in their epistles: that St. Paul (Acts xix. 5) rebaptised those who had been baptised by John the Baptist; ought not we then (says he) to baptise those who come from heresy to the Church? Will any man say that the bishops now-a-days are greater than St. Paul was? which they must needs be, if they are able to do that which he could not; if they, by imposition of hands only, can give the Holy Ghost to heretics when they come to them. St. Cyprian, in his letter to Jubaianus, reasons to this purpose against the

might be wrong (*Eccl. Pol.* v. 62, 6). The dates assigned to the first synod of Africa, and the synods of Iconium and Synnada, are on the authority of the great Benedictine work, *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*; the editor of which, as was to be expected in the case of councils which so clearly contradict the tradition of the Roman Church, marks them all with the asterisk, “que ceux auxquels il est appliqué ne sont point reçus dans l'Eglise” (of Rome).]

validity of such baptisms : It is evident where and by whom the *remission of sins*, which is given in baptism, can be given ; for our Lord gave first to Peter, &c., that power, that *whatsoever he should loose in earth should be loosed in heaven*;¹ then, after His resurrection, He gave it to all the apostles, when He said (John xx. 21-23), *As My Father hath sent Me*, &c. Whence we learn, that none have authority to *baptise* and *remit sins* but the *bishops*, and those who are founded in the evangelical law and our Lord's institution ; and that nothing can be bound or loosed out of the Church, seeing there is none there who has the power of binding and loosing. Jesus Christ, says Fortunatus in the venerable council of Carthage, anno 256,² our Lord and God, the Son of God the Father and Creator, built His Church upon a rock, and not upon heresy ; and He gave the power of baptising to *bishops*, and not to heretics. Those therefore who are out of the Church, and stand against Christ, and scatter His flock, cannot baptise, being out of the Church.

It would be endless to mention all the testimonies

[¹ Matt. xvi. 19.]

[² Fortunatus, bishop of Thuccaboris, gave the seventeenth suffrage (Labbe, vol. i. p. 789) in the third council of Carthage, summoned, upon the ill success of the two preceding ones, in the same year, A.D. 256. Eighty-five bishops appeared in person, and two by proxy ; and their decision was unanimous : they delivered their votes and opinions in rotation, which were afterwards replied to *seriatim* by St. Augustine.]

and arguments brought in that age against the validity of such baptisms; I shall therefore name but one more, which seems to be of great moment for the discovery of what was meant by heretics and schismatics in those days; and that is Firmilian, who, in one of his letters, says that he, and all the bishops who met with him in the synod of Iconium,¹ decreed that all those should be holden as unbaptised who were baptised by such as had once been bishops in the catholic Church, if they were baptised by them after they had *separated* from the Church. By which, and the other monuments of that age, it is evident they held that even bishops, and all other lawful ministers, lost their *very authority* to do any thing more in the ministerial functions, when they either schismatically or heretically separated themselves from the Church of Christ. Hence, doubtless, it came to pass, that St. Cyprian and his colleagues esteemed all their ministerial acts, done while in schism or heresy, to be null and void; and consequently that the supposed sacraments administered by them, and those whom they ordained, were no true Christian sacraments, and therefore invalid and ineffectual. This, I say, appears to me to be the true foundation of that

[¹ This synod of Iconium, v. supra, was held against the Cataphrygians, or Montanists: (arranged by Labbe, i. p. 754, under the date of Firmilian's account of it). *Cæteri quique hæretici, si se ab ecclesia Dei sciderint, nihil habere potestatis aut gratiæ possunt, quando omnis potestas et gratia in ecclesia constituta sit. Hæretico enim sicut ordinare non licet, nec manum imponere, ita nec baptizare.*]

great dispute concerning the validity of heretical and schismatical baptisms, and which St. Cyprian managed with so much Christian humility and charity, that though Stephen, bishop of Rome, was so far from agreeing to the reasons of the Africans¹—whether because he imagined they had a design to condemn the Roman Church, or because he thought this question was of too great consequence—that he was enraged against St. Cyprian and his colleagues, and used their deputies ill; nay, he prohibited all Christians belonging to his Church to receive or lodge them, depriving them not only of ecclesiastical communion, but also refusing them the common civilities of hospitality; yet he (*i.e.* St. Cyprian) could not think of breaking peace with them, of giving up

[¹ Bingham, *Scholast. Hist.* c. i. § 20, p. 58, allows “that Vossius, Blondel, and Pearson are of opinion that Stephen, in opposition to Cyprian’s doctrine, fell inconsiderately into the opposite extreme, and asserted that all persons baptised by heretics, whether in the name of the Trinity or otherwise, were to be received without distinction.” He produces a passage from Firmilian, who says that Stephen received only the baptism of those who baptised in the name of the Trinity; and then quotes Vincent of Lerins, *Common.*, who witnesses strongly in favour of the catholicity of Stephen’s doctrine. Firmilian’s observation on Stephen’s exception is curious: he denied that heretics *could* baptise in the name of the Trinity, *even were they so inclined.* Illud quoque absurdum, quod non putant quærendum esse, quis sit ille qui baptizaverit, eo quod, qui baptatus sit, gratiam consequi poterit, invocata Trinitate nominum Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Deinde hæc erit sapientia quam scribit Paulus esse in his qui perfecti sunt.]

communion with them, of abstaining or excommunicating them, notwithstanding Stephen had taken upon him to excommunicate those who opposed the ratification of heretical and schismatical baptisms. Upon the whole, the persecution of the Church by Valerian,¹ anno 257, put an end to this controversy. St. Cyprian *never* altered his opinion : the Greek churches were for along time after him divided upon this question : the council of Arles first decided it in the west ; St. Augustine followed its decision ; the western Church has embraced this opinion, viz. that baptism by heretics, in the name of the Trinity, is valid. And though the eastern churches have not agreed with her absolutely in this point, yet they always made a distinction between heretics, and differently received them.

In the canons that are called apostolical we have these remarkable canons, according to the division of Cotelerius.

Canon 38.² “ We order that a bishop, priest,

[¹ In which the heads of the Roman and African churches, Sixtus the successor of Stephen, and Cyprian, suffered martyrdom, A.D. 258 ; and it is supposed that Stephen himself received the crown in the same persecution, A.D. 257. If so, it seems a comforting thought, that these good men, Cyprian and Stephen, reconciled to each other by a blessed participation in the same baptism of blood, though separated in their lives, “ in their death they were not divided.”]

[² aliter xlvi. Labbe, i. p. 36. ἐπίσκοπον ἢ πρεσβύτερον αἱρετικῶν δεξάμενον βάπτισμα, ἢ θυσίαν, καθαιρεῖσθαι προστάσσομεν.]

or deacon, who has received baptism, &c. from an heretic, be deposed;” or, as the learned author of the *Clergyman’s Vade-Mecum* observes, “ the bishop, priest, or deacon, who allows the baptism, &c. of heretics.”

Canon 39.¹ “ If a bishop or priest do again baptise one who *has really* received baptism before; or if he do not baptise one that has been polluted by wicked men (*i. e.* baptised by heretics, see canon 38); let him be deposed, as one that [derides the cross and death of the Lord, and] makes *no distinction* betwixt *priests and pretenders.*”

In the fourth century, St. Athanasius² rejects the

[¹ aliter xlvi. Labbe, i. p. 36. ἐπίσκοπος ἢ πρεσβύτερος τὸν κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἔχοντα βάπτισμα ἐὰν ἄνωθεν βαπτίσῃ, ἢ τὸν μεμολυσμένον παρὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἐὰν μὴ βαπτίσῃ, καθαιρείσθω, ὡς γελῶν τὸν σταυρὸν καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου θάνατον, καὶ μὴ διακρίνων ἱερέας τῶν ψευδιερέων.]

[² Bingham, p. 132, very seasonably objects to Laurence’s strange practice of giving no references; and, supplying the passage of Athanasius, thus comments upon it. “ Athanasius disputes against the Arians’ baptism, because they rejected the fundamental doctrine of the Trinity. But this is not simply to reject the baptism of heretics; for he allowed the baptism of all others, as I have shewed, chap. i. sect. 20. p. 62. ‘ Though the Arians baptised in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, they did not understand by those names what the Church understood, but believed the Son and Holy Ghost to be mere creatures; and therefore he thought their baptism to be of no effect, because, though they baptised in the form of the Church, yet not into the faith of the holy Trinity. And he concludes the same of the Manichees, and Montanists, and Samosatenians,

baptism of heretics. Pacianus says,¹ that baptism purifies from sins, and unction brings down the Holy Spirit ; and both the one and the other are applied

who, he thinks, used the Catholic form of words, but rejected the true sense and meaning of them. Whence it is plain Athanasius was one of those who neither universally received nor universally rejected heretical baptisms ; but such as were given in the Catholic form of words, and in the true faith of the Trinity, those only he admitted ; refusing all others as invalid, where either the form or the faith was wanting.' "—Part I. sect. 20. It would have been more to the purpose of Bingham's argument, if he had supplied the place of Athanasius in which he formally admits the validity of any heretical baptism, besides those against which he formally excepts : none such is to be found.

Athan. *Orat. iii. adv. Arian.* p. 413. ed. 1627. Par. οὐ γὰρ εἰς πατέρα καὶ νῦν διδόσαιν οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ, ἀλλ' εἰς κτίστην καὶ κτίσμα, καὶ εἰς ποίημα καὶ ποιητήν is the passage to which Laurence alludes.]

[¹ The passage from Pacian is supplied by Laurence in his second part of *Lay Baptism invalid*, p. 98, after Bingham had referred to it, part i. Append. p. 132. Sic generat Christus in ecclesia per suos sacerdotes ; atque ita Christi semen, id est, Dei Spiritus, novum hominem alvo matris agitatum, et partu fontis exceptum, manibus sacerdotis effundit, fide tamen pronuba.—Hæc autem compleri alias nequeunt, nisi lavacri et chrismatis et antistitis sacramento. Lavacro enim peccata purgantur, chrismate Sanctus Spiritus superfunditur, utraque vero ista manu et ore antistitis impetramus.—*Sermo ad Catechum. de Baptism.*,—*Biblioth. Patr.* De la Bigne, vol. iii. p. 77.

Bingham says that this proves too much, and makes all baptism, except that conferred by bishops personally—that even of priests, as well as of laymen—invalid. Laurence, however, argues that Pacian meant by episcopal baptism “ not

by the hand and the mouth of the bishop. Optatus,¹ that the Donatists (who, by the way, were schismatics) only that of bishops themselves in person, but that conferred by those commissioned by the bishop, which is still his ministry ;” and certainly the passage mentions *sacerdotes* as well as *antistites*.]

[¹ Bingham, p. 132. Appendix, and p. 62. part i. § 20, argues that Optatus was of the same opinion which, *v. s.* he attributes to Athanasius,—that the baptism of all schismatics was to be received as valid, and also that of heretics, who baptised in the name and faith of the Trinity ; which two species he calls *necessariae*—that of the administrator only *quasi necessaria*. Optatus *contra Parmenon*, lib. v.

Quidquid in Trinitate factum fuerit, bene est.—Quisquis in nomine Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizaverit, apostolorum opus implevit. Laurence, part ii. p. 103. replies, that if Optatus meant *quisquis* in its most general sense, he must have included the baptism of women, infidels, Jews, and pagans, which is contrary to the sense of the Church : but he did not apply it so generally ; he was arguing with the Donatists ; and he tells them that, even granting what they urged, viz. that the catholic ministers were schismatics, still their ministrations were not defiled by this ; and whoever—that is, *whatever minister, catholic or schismatic*—baptises in the name of the Trinity, his baptism is good. Granting, then, that Optatus allows schismatical baptism to be valid. still these schismatics were once episcopally commissioned, and this makes nothing in favour of the *anti-episcopal* baptisms of our own time. The passage quoted in the text is *adv. Parmen.* lib. v.,—*Biblioth. Patr.* vol. iv. p. 363 : Nos docuimus coeleste munus unicuique credenti a Trinitate conferri, non ab homine. Et quid vobis visum est, non post nos, sed post Trinitatem baptismum geminare ? Cujus de sacramento non leve certamen innatum est, et dubitatur, an post Trinitatem in eadem Trinitate hoc iterum liceat facere. Vos dicitis *licet* ; nos dicimus *non licet*. Nutant

matics) committed a great crime in reiterating baptism (where it is to be noted, that they rebaptised the very Catholics who came over to them); that it is not he who gives this sacrament of baptism that confers the graces, but the faith of him that receives it, and the virtue of the Trinity. "We ask," says he, "if it be lawful to repeat baptism given in the name of the Trinity? Ye maintain that it is lawful; we say that it is forbidden: the people are in suspense. Let us therefore search after the will of our Father in the Gospel; which will inform us, that he who hath been once washed needs not to be washed again. Wherefore," adds he, "we do not rebaptise those who have been baptised, when they return again to us." He proves against the Donatists, that the holiness of the minister does not contribute to the validity of the sacrament of baptism; and that because the effect of the sacrament is owing to God only; and, in short, because the sacraments are holy,

et remigant animæ populorum.—Voluntas Patris, velut in Testamento, sic in Evangelio inquiratur.—*Qui semel lotus est, non habet iterum necessitatem lavandi.*—Absit ut iteremus quod semel est, aut duplicemus quod unum est.—Videatis, omnes qui baptizant, operarios esse non dominos, et sacramenta per se esse sancta, non per homines.

It is very remarkable that the text quoted by Optatus against rebaptisation is John xiii. 10: "He that is washed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit." It is clearly misquoted; but Tertullian, Ambrose, and, it is believed, others, quote it in the same way: "He that is once washed needeth not to be washed again."]

and do sanctify by themselves. Yet he seems to think that we ought to rebaptise those who were baptised by heretics; but does not make the same determination concerning those who were baptised by schismatics.

The council of Eliberis,¹ anno 305, canon 38, declares, that a Christian who is neither penitent (*i. e.* not under penance), nor a bigamist, may baptise, in a case of *necessity*, those who are on a journey, being at a great distance from a church, upon condition that he present him to the bishop, if he survive, to be *perfected* by imposition of hands.

Here it ought to be observed, that this ancient council was not a general one, and so its canon could not thus authorise all lay Christians. It extended no further than to the subjects of those bishops there

[¹ Labbe, i. p. 974. (*L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, with Tillemont, A.D. 300. Its date, however, is placed as high as A.D. 250, and as low as A.D. 324.) Placuit, peregre nava- gantes, aut si ecclesia in proximo non fuerit, posse fidelem, qui lavacrum suum integrum habet, nec sit bigamus, baptizare in necessitate infirmitatis positum catechumenum: ita ut, si supervixerit, ad episcopum eum perducat, ut per manus imposi- tionem proficere [aliter, perfici] possit. Laurence refers the phrase *lavacrum integrum* to not having lapsed after baptism. Vossius interprets it of one who had not received clinic baptism.

Bingham, part i. Appendix, p. 133. “ Laurence’s reflec- tions on the council of Eliberis are just enough: that it was but a particular council; and that it authorised only some laymen to baptise, but not all; and those not anti-episcopal, but in subjection to their bishops.”]

assembled. And therefore our lay baptisers cannot act by virtue of this canon; especially considering further, that this canon was not made as declarative of any proper inherent right or authority that lay Christians, *as such*, had to baptise; it only appointed some to do this who had not authority to do it before of themselves. Besides, it is plainly restrained to such as were in communion with, and subjection to, their bishops; they were not to be under *penance*, &c. And therefore, if this had been a general council, as it certainly was not, our lay baptisers, who act in opposition to episcopacy, could have received no authority from this canon.

The council of Arles,¹ called by the emperor anno 314, consisting of thirty-three western bishops, ca-

[¹ Labbe, i. p. 1428. *De Afris*, quod propria lege sua utuntur, ut rebaptizent, placuit ut si ad ecclesiam aliquis de hæresi [aliter de Arianis] venerit, interrogent eum symbolum: et si perviderint eum in Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto esse baptizatum, manus ei tantum imponatur, ut accipiat Spiritum Sanctum. Quod si interrogatus non responderit hanc Trinitatem, baptizetur.]

Bingham, part i. Appendix, p. 133. “ Laurence follows the faulty subscriptions which make but thirty-three bishops to have been present at it; whereas it was a plenary council of the whole western Church, as St. Augustine (*adv. Parm.* i. 5) calls it, consisting of two hundred bishops, as Baronius, Schelstrate, and Pagi, and most other learned critics, except Valesius, readily allow.” In the preface, p. xiv., to second part of *Lay Baptism invalid*, Laurence quotes Dupin, who controverts Baronius’ argument, and declares that the reading in Augustine should be *contra judices*, not *ducentos judices*.]

non 8. determines the famous *question* about the re-baptisation of heretics, and ordains concerning the Africans, who had *always* rebaptised them, that if any one leave a heresy, and return to the Church, he shall be asked concerning the creed ; and if it be known that he was baptised in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, imposition of hands only shall be given him, that he may receive the Holy Spirit ; but if he does not acknowledge the Trinity,—I suppose it is meant, if while a heretic he did not acknowledge the Trinity, or if the heretic who baptised him did not acknowledge the Trinity (the latter is the most likely),—he shall be rebaptised.

By the way, in this canon there is not one word about *lay baptism* : and as for the heretics who then baptised, they had always, or at least most commonly, received ordination from the hands of some *catholic bishop* or other ; nay, generally the *heretical bishops* were consecrated, before they fell into heresy, by *catholic bishops*, or else afterwards, by some trick or other, got private consecration from them, that so their heresies might go down the better with the people : and the same we find concerning schismatics in those days.

I desire that this may be more particularly taken notice of, because it effectually silences all objections brought from this council's allowing of the validity of heretical and schismatical baptisms. For such their allowance is no ways favourable to the baptisms

we are now disputing against ; for they are not only lay, but anti-episcopal baptisms, which were not the subject of this council.

The council of Nice,¹ anno 325, consisting of about three hundred bishops, canon 19. ordains, “ that the Paulianists (who, by the way, did not baptise in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost) [and Cataphrygians, some read, but not in the Greek] shall be rebaptised, who return to the Church.”

After the council of Nice,² it was a prevailing

[¹ Labbe, ii. p. 245. c. xix. περὶ τῶν Παυλιανισάντων, εἰτα προσφυγόντων τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅρος ἐκτέθειται, ἀναβαπτίζεσθαι αὐτοὺς ἔξαπαντος. But in the eighth canon the council decreed, that Novatian schismatics, if clergy, were to be admitted, at their reconciliation, to the same degree which they had enjoyed before : and from this Bingham concludes, that although Novatian was neither true bishop, nor, in a state of schism, a true priest, yet since the council of Nice admitted the orders of his clergy, and consequently their baptisms, hence it became a rule that schismatics were always reconciled without baptising. Laurence meets this by arguing (Supplement, p. 59, &c.), that Novatian was all along a true bishop, and his clergy truly ordained, commissioned, and authorised to baptise, even while in a state of schism : and to this Bingham replies, in a separate dissertation, vol. viii. p. 420-460. Brett, in a “ further inquiry,” in reply to Bingham’s second part, defends Laurence’s view, and argues, at great length, that the council of Nice acknowledged the Novatian orders.]

[² This passage is repeated in Laurence’s *Sacerdotal Powers*, p. 120. The argument is taken from Forbes’s *Instructiones Historico-theologicæ*, l. x. c. 14. § 5. Post Nicænum concilium major illa propositio firmitatem obtinuit, ut ea, tanquam indubitato principio errorem Luciferi confutarint ;

principle, that those whom a laic baptiseth are to be rebaptised; for it was the undoubted principle whereby the orthodox confuted the Luciferians, who began their schism upon occasion of the council of Alexandria's allowing the ordination of the Arian bishops. For thus the orthodox argued against those schismatics: Those whom a laic baptiseth are to be rebaptised; but those whom an Arian priest baptiseth are not to be rebaptised; therefore an Arian priest is not a laic. And even Lucifer himself, the author of that schism, granted the major [minor] proposition to be true.

In the council of Carthage,¹ anno 348, before they

sic argumentantes: Quos baptizavit laicus, ii sunt denuo baptizandi: at quos baptizavit sacerdos Arianus, ii non sunt denuo baptizandi: ergo quos baptizavit sacerdos Arianus, eos non baptizavit laicus. Hoc uno ariete errorem diruit orthodoxus apud Hieronym. adv. Luciferianos. Quod argumentum adeo conturbavit Hilarium diaconum, schismatis Luciferiani continuatorem, cum aliquam ex præmissis videret labefactandam esse ei, qui eversam cuperet conclusionem, ut desperato omni alio effugio, errorem magistri alio adjecto errore cumulaverit, negans *assumptionem*, quam Lucifer ipse concesserat, recipiendos scilicet absque nova tinctione eos qui essent ab Ariano baptizati. Assumptionem igitur Hieronymus confirmat auctoritate Nicæni concilii. Laurence, either from ignorance of the technical language of logic, or from carelessness, translated *assumptionem* the *major*, instead of the *minor*. Bingham detected the error, and Laurence acknowledged it. For an attempt to sketch the argument about Lucifer, see Appendix to this Preliminary Discourse.]

[¹ Labbe, i. p. 713. Contemplantes unitatis tempus, id de

proceeded to make canons, the president [Gratus] advised thus : “ We must have such regard to this time of peace, that we neither weaken the obligation of the laws, nor yet prejudice the present unity by *too much severity.*” Then the first head proposed was about rebaptisation : he asked whether that man ought to be rebaptised who at his baptism made profession of believing the Trinity ? The *bishops* answered, “ God forbid ; we declare that this rebaptisation is unlawful, contrary to the orthodox faith and the ecclesiastical discipline.”

St. Basil, bishop of Cæsarea,¹ anno 369, says, singulis definire, quod nec Carthago vigorem legis infringat, nec tamen tempore unitatis aliquid durissimum statuamus. Ergo, si vobis placet, consideremus primum titulum rebaptizationis. Unde sanctitatem vestram postulo, ut mentis vestræ placita producatis ad descendenter in aquam, et interrogatum in Trinitate secundum evangelii fidem et apostolorum doctrinam, et confessum bonam conscientiam in Deum, de resurrectionem Jesu Christi, si liceat iterum interrogari in eadem fide, et in aqua iterum intingi. Universi episcopi dixerunt : Absit, absit. Illicitas esse sancimus rebaptizationes, et satis esse alienum a sincera fide et catholica disciplina.]

[¹ Basil. Epist. canon. ad Amphiloch. vol. iii. p. 268. ed. Bened. ἔδοξε τοῖνυν τοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς, τὸ μὲν τῶν αἱρετικῶν παντελῶς ἀθετῆσαι· τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀποσχισάντων, ὡς ἔτι ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὄντων, παραδέξασθαι.—ἔδοξε τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, τοῖς περὶ Κυπριανὸν λέγω καὶ Φιρμιλιανὸν τὸν ἡμέτερον, τούτους πάντας μιᾷ ψήφῳ ὑποβαλεῖν, Καθαροὺς καὶ Ἔγκρατίτας· διότι ή μὲν ἀρχὴ τοῦ χωρισμοῦ διὰ σχίσματος γέγονεν· οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀποστάντες, οὐκέτι ἔσχον τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐφ’ ἑαυτοῖς.—οἱ δὲ ἀπορριγγέντες, λαϊκοὶ γενόμενοι οὕτε τοῦ βαπτίζειν, οὕτε τοῦ χειροτονεῖν εἰχον τὴν ἔξουσίαν, οὐκέτι δυνάμενοι χάριν πνεύματος

“ Those whom a laic baptiseth are to be rebaptised.” He also maintains, that the ancients were persuaded that the baptism of heretics was *absolutely* void. As

ἀγίου ἑτέροις παρέχειν, ἂς αὐτοὶ ἐκπεπτώκασι.—ἐπειδὴ ἔδοξε τισι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκονομίας ἔνεκα τῶν πολλῶν δεχθῆναι αὐτῶν τὸ βάπτισμα, ἔστω δεκτόν· τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἐγκρατιῶν ἡμᾶς προσῆκεν ἀθετεῖν βάπτισμα.—ἔὰν μέντοι μέλλοι τῇ καθόλου οἰκονομίᾳ ἐμπόδιον ἔσεσθαι τοῦτο, πάλιν τῷ ἔθει χρηστέον. This passage was produced by Forbes, v. s. Bingham, p. 130, argues that Basil spoke in Cyprian’s person, not his own, and that he was willing to give up his private judgment to the opinion of the Church, *ἔστω δεκτόν*. Brett argues at great length, that Basil’s epistle, being canonical, must be accepted as the testimony and decision of the whole oriental Church; and Lawrence, part ii. p. 113, thus sums up his argument in reply to Bingham :

“ St. Basil’s argument from Cyprian and Firmilian, reduced into form, stands thus : Baptism by lay persons is null and void ; heretical and schismatical priests are become laymen ; therefore baptism by heretical and schismatical priests is null and void. The major proposition was not publicly opposed by any churches ; but the minor was denied by several churches ; and therefore, in compliance with those churches, he could not wholly insist upon his conclusion, that baptism by heretical and schismatical priests was null and void ; for he acquiesced in the custom of some churches, who reckoned the baptism of some schismatics to be good and valid. But this was in no degree to depart from the uncontested principle, that baptism by laymen was null and void ; because his allowing some schismatics not to be reduced to laymen, was only an abatement from the rigour of his previous assertion concerning heretics and schismatics without distinction, when other churches did not allow that all schismatics whatever were become laymen. Those churches did not dispute against his

for schismatics, he likes well enough St. Cyprian and Firmilian's subjecting them to the *same law*; because being *separate* from the Church, they had not the Holy Spirit, and so could not give it: but says, he would not hinder the allowing of the baptisms of schismatics, since the bishops of Asia had thought it convenient to admit them. But though the Encratites were schismatics, he declares that their baptism ought not to be approved, and that those ought to be rebaptised to whom they had given baptism; because they gave it with precipitation, on purpose to *hinder* the receiving of it from the Church; nevertheless, if the contrary custom (of allowing the baptism of heretics and schismatics) were established, he confesses it ought to be followed.

The council of Laodicea,¹ between anno 360 and 370, canon 8. says, “that they must be wholly other principle, of the invalidity of baptism by persons non-commissioned; and therefore it [the major proposition] stood good, notwithstanding his compliance and their practice with respect to the other by schismatical priests.”]

[¹ *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, A.D. 360.—Labbe, i. p. 1498. c. viii. *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς αἱρέσεως τῶν λεγομένων Φρυγῶν ἐπιστρέφοντας, εἰ καὶ ἐν κλήρῳ νομιζομένῳ παρ’ αὐτοῖς τυγχάνοιεν, εἰ καὶ μέγιστοι λέγοιντο· τοὺς τοιούτους μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας κατηχεῖσθαι τε καὶ βαπτίζεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπων τε καὶ πρεσβυτέρων.* But in the previous canon the council decreed, that such as had been baptised by the Novatians, the Photinians, and the Quartodecimans, were to be received into communion, after anathematizing their heresies, learning the creed catholic, and being anointed with chrism. Bingham, part i. sect. 20, p. 66.]

baptised anew who come from the sect of the Montanists."

The third council of Constantinople,¹ anno 383 [the second general council, A.D. 381], in the last canon, concerning the manner of receiving heretics who offer themselves to return into the bosom of the Church, it is ordained, "that the Arians, Macedonians, Sabbatians, Novatians, Quartodecimani, Tetradiites, and Apollinarists, shall be received, after they have made profession of their faith, and anathematised their errors, by the unction of the Holy Spirit, and the chrism, wherewith they shall be anointed on the forehead, the eyes, the hands, the mouth, the ears, at the pronouncing of these words, This is the

[¹ Labbe, ii. p. 951. c. vii. Ἀρειανοὺς μὲν καὶ Μακεδονιανοὺς καὶ Σαββατιανοὺς καὶ Ναυατιανοὺς καὶ τὸν Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτητας, εἴτουν Τετραδίτας καὶ Ἀπολλιναριστὰς δεχόμεθα διδόντας λιβέλλους, καὶ ἀναθεματίζοντας πᾶσαν αἵρεσιν—καὶ σφραγίζομένους ἢτοι χριομένους πρῶτον τῷ ἄγιῳ μύρῳ τό τε μέτωπον, καὶ τὸν δόφθαλμον, καὶ τὰς ρῖνας, καὶ τὸ στόμα, καὶ τὰ ὀταντα· καὶ σφραγίζοντες αὐτοὺς λέγομεν. Σφραγὴς δωρεᾶς πνεύματος ἄγιον. Εὐνομιανοὺς μέντοι, τὸν εἰς μίαν κατάδυσιν βαπτίζομένους, καὶ Μοντανιστὰς, τὸν ἐνταῦθα λεγομένους Φρύγας, καὶ Σαβελλιανοὺς—ὡς Ἐλληνας δεχόμεθα—καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς βαπτίζομεν. The second council of Arles, A.D. 452, made the like distinction: the Paulianists were to be rebaptised; the Bonosiaci, who maintained the same errors, yet baptised in the name of the Trinity, received by chrism and imposition of hands. See p. cxii.

The council of Trullo or Quinisextum, A.D. 691, decreed, in the same way, to rebaptise the heretics mentioned above, as also the Manichees, Valentinians, and Marcionites; but to confirm the Arians, &c. Bingham, part i. c. 20. p. 68.]

seal of the Holy Spirit. As to the Eunomians, the Montanists, the Sabellians, and all the other heretics, the council ordains that they shall be received like pagans, &c., and at last they shall be baptised."

The council of Capua,¹ anno 390, declared, "that it was not lawful to use rebaptisation, *re-ordination*, and the *translation* of bishops."

The second council of Carthage,² anno 390, in the eighth canon declares, "that if a priest excommunicated by his own bishop undertake to offer up the sacrifices in private, and to set up *altar* against *altar*, thereby making a *schism*, he ought to be anathematised, because there is but *one Church, one faith, and one baptism.*" My remark upon this canon is, that this *one baptism* cannot be supposed to be out of this *one Church*, and therefore is only in it.

The third [fourth] council of Carthage,³ anno

[¹ Labbe, ii. p. 1039, referred to by Ambrose, epist. 56 et seq. Hac eadem Capuensi synodo constitutum fuerit, ne fierent rebaptizationes, reordinations, et episcoporum translationes.]

[² Labbe, ii. p. 1161. Si quis forte presbyter ab episcopo suo correptus aut excommunicatus, tumore vel superbia inflatus, putaverit separatim Deo sacrificia offerenda, vel aliud erigendum altare, contra ecclesiasticam fidem disciplinamque, crediderit, non exeat impunitus.—Si quis presbyter contra episcopum suum inflatus schisma fecerit, anathema sit—quoniam *ecclesia una est, una fides, unum baptismum.*]

[³ Labbe, ii. p. 1207. Mulier baptizare non præsumat. “ Gratian and Peter Lombard add *nisi necessitate cogente*; yet this is either an interpretation of their own, or a plain fraud: for there is no such reading now in any tome of the councils; and as Vossius observes, it is otherwise cited by Walafridus

398, canon 100, says, “ that a woman ought not to take upon her to baptise.”

St. Chrysostom, archbishop of Constantinople, anno 398, is express for the invalidity of lay baptism; and that it can be no more administered by a laic than the eucharist. Says he, “ But all these are things which can be administered *by no other man living* but by those *sacred hands alone*, the hands, I say, of the priest.”¹ CHRYS. lib. iii. *de Sacerd.* c. 5.

In the fifth century flourished St. Augustine, Strabo some ages before them.”—Bingham, c. i. sect. 17. p. 51. Bellarmine, Thomas Aquinas, and Suarez, of course adopt this dishonest gloss.]

[¹ Εἰ γὰρ οὐ δύναται τις εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐὰν μὴ δι’ ὄδατος καὶ πνεύματος ἀναγεννηθῆ· καὶ ὁ μὴ τρώγων τὴν σάρκα τοῦ Κυρίου, καὶ τὸ ἀἷμα αὐτοῦ πίνων, ἐκβέβληται τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς· πάντα δὲ ταῦτα δι’ ἐπέρου μὲν οὐδενὸς, μόνον δὲ διὰ τῶν ἀγίων ἐκείνων ἐπιτελεῖται χειρῶν, τῶν τοῦ ἵερέως λέγω.

Bingham had objected against Forbes, that this passage, quoted by him, as are most of these passages from the Fathers, &c. in *Instruct. Hist.-theol.*, if taken strictly, would be equally conclusive against deacons' baptisms: to which Laurence, part ii. p. 114, gives the same answer as that produced in the case of Pacian,—that as the acts of a priest were the acts of the bishop, so far as they were of episcopal authority, so a deacon is so far a priest as he has received priestly power to administer this sacrament in the absence of the bishop, who has the whole priesthood, and of the presbyter, who has the next degree of sacerdotal power. “ By St. Chrysostom’s rule, agreeable to that of holy Scripture, we cannot obtain salvation, receive baptism, the means thereof, ordinarily or in times of extremity, *without the priestly power.*”]

bishop of Hippo in Africa. He argued vigorously against the Donatists, who began their *schism* by a separation of some African bishops, and proceeded so far as to reckon all other churches as unclean, and indeed to be no churches at all; and consequently when any catholic came over to their party, they would not admit him without rebaptisation; making use of St. Cyprian and his colleagues' authority, who taught that baptism administered by heretics and schismatics could not be valid, because they were out of the Church; and the Donatists esteemed the Catholics to be no better than such.

St. Augustine,¹ in opposition to them, undertakes to prove, that though his party were not the Church, yet the Donatists were not to baptise them a second time. He confesses that baptism performed without

[¹ Baptismus Christi non nisi Christi baptismus habetur, etiamsi apud hæreticos vel schismaticos datus fuisse probaretur.—Augustin. *de Baptism.* lib. iii. cap. i. 3. p. 109, vol. ix. ed. Bened.

Quamobrem si evangelicis verbis, *in nomine Patris, &c.* integrum erat sacramentum, quamvis ejus fides sub eisdem verbis aliud opinantis quam catholica veritas docet.—Augustin. *de Baptism.* lib. iii. cap. xv. 20. p. 116.

Cum ergo baptismus Christi, sive per iniquum sive per justum ministratus, nihil aliud sit quam baptismus Christi.—Augustin. *contra literas Petiliani,* lib. iii. cap. xxxiv. 39. p. 317.

Baptismus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti Christum habet auctorem, non quemlibet hominem: et Christus est veritas, non quilibet homo.—Augustin. *contra literas Petiliani,* lib. ii. cap. xxiv. 57. p. 236.]

naming the *Trinity* is null ; but affirms, that if it be administered in the name of the *Trinity*, it is valid, *whosoever* he be that administers it, and ought not to be repeated : that neither the minister's *faith* as to religion, nor his sanctity, avail any thing to the validity of baptism : that it is God, and not the minister, who gives the Holy Spirit, and worketh the remission of sins.

But here, before I proceed further, I must observe, that it does not hence follow, that because the faith or sanctity of the minister avails nothing to the validity of baptism, therefore his *authority* by which he acts avails nothing thereto : for *authority* may very well be, and often is, *distinct* and *separate* from both those excellent qualities. And again ; every one will grant, that it is God, and not the minister, who gives the Holy Spirit, &c. What then ? does it thence follow that any person may stand in God's stead, as appointed by Him to administer ? Can it be reasonably expected that God should concur with the *usurpations* of those who act therein without *His commission*, nay, and in *opposition* thereto (as is the case with us) ? Certainly no ; it cannot : for however He may dispense with the *want* of a sacrament, yet He has no where promised to give *efficacy* to those administrations which are in any respect contrary to the essentials of His own institutions ; and to me it seems a mere foolhardiness and presumption to expect it.

But to proceed :

St. Augustine,¹ in the 7th book *Of Baptism*, cap. 53, says thus: “It is asked whether that baptism is to be approved which is administered by an unbap-

[¹ Augustin. *de Baptismo*, lib. vii. cap. 53. p. 201. Solet enim quæri, utrum approbandum sit baptisma quod ab eo qui non accepit, accipitur, si forte curiositate aliqua didicit quemadmodum dandum sit: et utrum nihil intersit, quo animo accipiat ille cui datur, cum simulatione, an sine simulatione: si cum simulatione, utrum fallens, sicut in ecclesia, vel in ea quæ putatur ecclesia; an jocans, sicut in mimo: et quid sit sceleratus, in ecclesia fallaciter accipere, an in hæresi vel schismate sine fallacia, id est, animo non simulato; et utrum in hæresi fallaciter, an in mimo cum fide, si quisquam inter agendum repentina pietate moveatur?—Nobis tutum est, in ea non progredi aliqua temeritate sententiæ, quæ nullo in catholico regionali concilio cœpta, nullo plenario terminata sunt. — Veruntamen si quis forte me in eo concilio constitutum, ubi talium rerum quæstio versaretur, non præcedentibus talibus, quorum sententias sequi mallem, urgeret ut dicerem quid ipse sentirem—nequaquam dubitarem habere eos baptismum qui ubicumque et a quibuscumque illud verbis evangelicis consecratum, sine sua simulatione et cum aliqua fide accepissent:— non dubito etiam illos habere baptismum, qui quamvis fallaciter id accipient, in ecclesia tamen accipiunt, vel ubi putatur esse ecclesia ab eis, in quorum societate id accipitur, de quibus dictum est, *Ex nobis exierunt*. Ubi autem neque societas ulla esset ita credentium, neque ille qui ibi acciperet ita crederet, sed totum ludicre et mimice et joculariter ageretur, utrum approbandus esset baptismus qui sic daretur, divinum judicium per alicujus revelationis oraculum implorandum esse censerem.

Item, cap. 54. Baptismum autem si habent et tradunt alii tam multi qui operantur opera carnis, qualia qui agunt (*Galat. v. 21*) regnum Dei non possidebunt; habent ac tradunt hære-

tised person, who out of curiosity has learned the way of baptising among Christians? It is asked, further, whether it be necessary for the validity of baptism, that he who either administers or receives it be sincere? And if they should be only in jest, whether their baptism ought to be administered again in the Church? Whether baptism conferred in derision, as that would be which should be administered by a comedian, might be accounted valid? Whether baptism administered by an actor may become valid, when he that receives it is well disposed?"

He answers to these, and such-like questions, "That the securest way is to return no answer to questions that never were decided in any council, general or national. But, he adds, should any man, meeting with me at such council, ask my advice about these questions, and that it were my turn to declare my opinion; having not heard other men's opinions, which I might prefer before my own, &c.,—I should, without difficulty, acknowledge that they all receive baptism truly, in any place whatsoever, and by *whomsoever* administered, if on their part they receive it with faith and sincerity. I am apt also to believe

tici, qui inter illa opera numerati sunt, quod quia recedendo non amiserunt, et tradere manendo potuerunt.

Item *de Bapt.* lib. v. cap. xx. p. 155. Quæ omnia valent per homicidas, id est per eos qui oderunt fratres, etiam in ipsa ecclesia. Cum *dare nemo possit quod non habet*, quomodo dat homicida Spiritum Sanctum? et tamen ipse intus etiam baptizat. Deus ergo dat etiam ipso baptizante Spiritum Sanctum.]

that such as receive baptism in the Church, or in what is supposed to be the Church, are truly baptised, as to the sacramental part of the action, whatsoever be their intention; but as for baptism administered and received out of the Church, in railing, contempt, and to make sport, I could not approve the same without a revelation."

He endeavours to overthrow the reasons and testimonies of the Cyprianists against the validity of heretical and schismatical baptisms, by the comparison of concealed heretics and evil ministers with known heretics and schismatics: "For," says he, "if the baptism administered by the *former* is valid, and not to be renewed, why should not the same thing be said of the *latter*, since all the reasons that are alleged for the nullity of the baptism of heretics may also belong to evil ministers? It is said, for example, that to give the Holy Ghost, one must have it: that heretics have it not, and consequently that they cannot give it. Why may we not reason after the same manner concerning baptism conferred by concealed heretics, or by wicked priests? Have they the Holy Ghost to give?" Thus St. Augustine.

I cannot but take notice here, that this great man does not appear to me to have made the comparison according to the design of St. Cyprian and his colleagues; for by the manner of handling this dispute in those days, it is plain to me that the heretics and schismatics were supposed to be, by their separating themselves from the communion of the Church, *as*

excommunicate, and consequently to have lost all valid power and authority for the administration of Christian sacraments, being themselves out of the Church: whereas the concealed heretic and evil minister, not having separated themselves from, nor been excluded out of, the Church, cannot, during this their secrecy, lose that *visible authority* wherewith they were at first invested; and we have no *other* authority to trust to, except we had the gift of discerning spirits; so that the reasons against the validity of baptism administered by *known* self-excommunicate heretics and schismatics will not equally hold good against the validity of baptism conferred by *unknown* heretics and evil priests, who still continue in external communion with the *Church*; because the former were by the Cyprianists supposed to have not, but the latter to have, that *visible authority* and *commission* which Christ gave them to administer His sacraments; as is plain from the example of Judas Iscariot, whom our Saviour vested with the divine commission, notwithstanding his great wickedness.

Leo,¹ bishop of Rome, in his eighteenth answer to several questions put to him by Rusticus, bishop

[¹ Labbe, iii. 1408. Inquis. De his qui—nesciunt in qua secta sint baptizati. Respons. Non se isti baptizatos nesciunt, sed cuius fidei fuerint qui eos baptizaverunt se nescire profitentur. Unde quolibet modo formam baptismatis acceperint, baptizandi non sunt; sed per manus impositionem, invocata virtute Spiritus Sancti, quam ab haereticis accipere non potuerunt, catholicis copulandi sunt.]

of Narbonne, anno 442 [452?], says, “that it is sufficient to lay hands upon, and call upon the Holy Spirit over those that do remember that they have been baptised, but know not in what sect.”

Gennadius,¹ a priest of Marseilles, affirms, “that there is *but one baptism*; and that we must not baptise them again who have been baptised by heretics with the invocation of the name of the Trinity; but they who have not been baptised in the name of the Trinity ought to be rebaptised, because such a baptism is not true.”

The second council of Arles² [A.D. 452], canon 17, says, “the Bonosiaci, who baptise, as well as the Arians, in the name of the Trinity; it is sufficient to admit them into the Church by chrism and imposition of hands.”

St. Gregory,³ about the latter end of the sixth

[¹ Bingham, *Scholast. Hist.* part i. c. xx. p. 71, supplies this passage. Gennadius de Eccles. Dogmat. c. 53. *Si qui apud illos hæreticos baptizati sunt, qui in Sanctæ Trinitatis confessione baptizant, et veniant ad nos, recipiantur quidam ut baptizati.]*

[² Labbe, iv. 1013. Bonosiacos autem, ex eodem errore venientes, quos sicut Arianos, baptizare in Trinitate manifestum est, si interrogati fidem nostram ex toto corde confessi fuerint, cum chrismate et manus impositione in ecclesia recipi sufficit. This canon is referred to the seventh canon of the council of Constantinople, v. s.]

[³ S. Gregorius (Labbe, v. 1474. lib. ix.) epistol. 61. Quirino episcopo et cæteris in Hibernia catholicis.—Hi vero hæretici, qui in Trinitatis nomine minime baptizantur, sicut sunt Bonosiaci et Cataphrygæ, quia et illi Christum Dominum

century [A.D. 596], speaking about the return of several sorts of heretics into the Church, says, “that they are baptised when they *re-enter* into the Church; the baptism which they have received not being true, since it was not given in the name of the Trinity. When it is *uncertain* whether a person has been baptised or confirmed, we must baptise or confirm them, rather than suffer them to perish in this doubt.”

Gregory II.,¹ a little after, anno 700, in his decretal epistle, answering several questions put to him by Boniface, article 8, forbids to rebaptise those who have been once baptised in the name of the Trinity, although it were by a wicked priest.

non credunt—cum ad sanctam ecclesiam veniunt, baptizantur ; quia baptisma non fuit, quod in errore positi in sanctæ Trinitatis nomine minime percepérunt.

Item (Labbe, v. 1580. lib. xii.), epistol. 32. ad Felicem. Quotiens de baptismo aliquorum vel confirmatione—dubitatio habetur—baptizentur tales aut confirmentur—ne talis dubitatio ruina fidelibus fiat.

It is worthy of notice, that the Bonosiaci are expressly ordered to be baptised by Gregory, who in the same epistle had directed the Arians to be received only by imposition of hands or chrism. In the council of Arles, cited in the previous note, neither Arians or Bonosiaci were to be baptised.]

[¹ Labbe, vi. 1448. *Enimvero quodam, absque interrogatione symboli, ab adulteris et indignis presbyteris fassus es baptizatos. In his tua dilectio teneat antiquum morem ecclesiæ: quia quisquis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti baptizatus est, rebaptizari eum minime licet. Non enim in nomine baptizantis, sed in nomine Trinitatis, hujus gratiae donum percipiunt.* The date assigned by Laurence to this epistle of Gregory II. is

Gregory III.¹ orders that they shall be baptised again in the name of the Trinity, who have been baptised by heathens; and also that those shall be rebaptised who have been baptised by a priest that hath sacrificed to Jupiter, or eaten meat offered to idols.

Thus far, I think, may suffice to have collected what has been said about rebaptisation.

And I should not have given myself or the reader the trouble of this account of men's various judgments and opinions in this case, were it not that I expected to hear from some that I had wholly neglected to search into antiquity concerning the sense of the primitive fathers about it. To obviate which objection, and because I have been told that it "becomes me to rest satisfied in the determinations of the Christian Church about this matter," I thought it not amiss to inquire into them thus far; to the intent that I might see whether I could procure any *well-grounded* satisfaction from their authority: and, indeed, I must acknowledge, that if this had been a thing indifferent in its own nature, and not *determined* by the word of

wrong: he was elected pope A.D. 715, and the decretal was sent to Boniface after his mission into Germany, A.D. 726.]

[¹ Labbe, vi. 1468. I. Decret. epist. ad eundem Bonifacium, A.D. 731. cap. i. Eosdem quos a paganis baptizatos esse aperuisti, si ita habetur, ut denuo baptizes in nomine sanctæ Trinitatis mandamus. Item, cap. v. Eos etiam qui se dubitant fuisse baptizatos, vel quia a presbytero Jovi mactante et carnes immolatias vescente baptizati sunt, ut rebaptizentur præcipimus.]

God, but left to the wisdom and prudence of the Church to decree as she should think convenient and necessary, I ought to have acquiesced with her determinations, if she had in general council made any about unauthorised and anti-episcopal baptisms, which in truth she has not; nor any provincial council neither, as is plain by the foregoing collection.

The Church of Rome¹ has indeed assumed to her-

[¹ Bingham, part i. c. xxiv. p. 92, produces *Rituale Romanum* [Rom. 1816, p. 11]. Infans aut adultus quoties versatur in vita periculo, potest sine solemnitate a quocunque baptizari in qualibet lingua, sive clericō, sive laico etiam excommunicato, sive fideli, sive infideli, sive catholico, sive haeretico, sive viro, sive femina; servata tamen forma et intentione ecclesiæ.

Papa Nicholas, *ad consulta Bulgarorum*, cap. 104. A quodam Judæo, nescitis utrum Christiano an pagano, multos in patria vestra baptizatos aperitis, et quid de iis sit agendum consulitis. Hi profecto, si in nomine sanctæ Trinitatis, vel tantum in Christi nomine, sicut in Actis Apostolorum legimus, baptizati sunt (unum quippe idemque est, ut sanctus exponit Ambrosius), constat eos non esse denuo baptizandos.

Papa Eugenius, *Decret. ad Armenos*. In causa necessitatis, non solum sacerdos vel diaconus, sed etiam laicus vel mulier, immo etiam paganus et haereticus, baptizare potest, dummodo formam servet ecclesiæ.

(Has not Mr. Newman, in a recent work, expressed the practice of the Roman Church incorrectly, when he says, "We admit her baptism and her orders: her custom is to re-baptise and re-ordain our members who chance to join her?" *On the Prophetic Office of the Church*, p. 253.)

Forbes, *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*, x 13. Pontificii, scholasticos doctores sequuti et Florentini concilii auctori-

self a pretended power of declaring all baptisms in or with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, by whomsoever administered, whether by a woman or layman, heretic or orthodox, communicant or schismatic, of what sort soever, to be good and valid. But this her determination ought

tatem, permittunt non solum diacono baptizare, absente vel jubente sacerdote, sed etiam laicis baptizatis, imo non baptizatis, ipsisque adeo Judæis et paganis, imo etiam quibuscumque mulieribus fas esse pronunciant baptizare sine solennibus ceremoniis in casu necessitatis: hoc servato ordine, ut mulier, si vir adsit qui ritum sciat et hujus sacramenti conficiendi peritus sit, aut laicus præsente clero, clericus coram sacerdote, non baptizet.

The scriptural argument of the Romanists is : 1. From the case of Zipporah : but it is replied, that she circumcised her child in Moses' presence, contrary to the Roman rule. 2. From that of the three thousand baptised by the apostles ; a number too large, they argue, for apostles alone to baptise : to which Forbes answers, that Fr. Xavier is said by the Romanists to have baptised 15,000 in one day ; and that the deacons, who were not laymen, might have assisted. 3. That of Ananias : but he had an express revelation to baptise Saul. 4. And that of Philip : but he was an evangelist and deacon, and had also an express command to baptise the eunuch.

Catechism. Trident. pars ii. c. ii. quæstio 23. Extremus ordo [ministrorum] est, qui, cogente necessitate, sine solennibus ceremoniis baptizare possunt : quo in numero sunt omnes, etiam de populo, sive mares sive feminæ, quamcumque illi sectam profiteantur. Nam et Judæis quoque, et infidelibus et hæreticis, quum necessitas cogit, hoc munus permissum est ; si tamen id efficere propositum eis fuerit, quod ecclesia catholica in eo administrationis genere efficit.]

to be brought to the test, and weighed in the balance of the sanctuary.

Baptism, and all things essential thereto, are fundamentals of Christianity ; it is, in the apostle's style, *a principle of the doctrine of Christ*;¹ it is a positive institution made by God Himself ; and the holy Scriptures are *clear enough* for the determination of all the necessaries thereof, as well as of all other fundamental points of our religion : and therefore the decrees of fathers and councils have no more weight with me in this matter of lay baptism, than what they receive from their conformity to those divine oracles, which are the only original rule of our faith and practice in fundamentals, as all sound Protestants have affirmed.

If any shall ask me, who must be judge between you and the councils ? I answer, the same that must be judge between the contradictory canons of different councils ; the same that must be judge between me and a council that commands me to worship saints and angels, &c. Now who this is upon earth I cannot tell : a living infallible judge we have none ; and therefore I must look for a rule or guide, *i. e.* the holy Scripture : and if the councils and I differ about this rule, I must have recourse to the *best* and *purest* ages of Christianity, and see what the apostolic fathers and the councils next after them understood by that rule. After all, I must be allowed a judgment of discretion for myself, in conjunction with these, and a *just* *deference* to the canons of that particular Church

[¹ Heb. vi. 2.]

whereof I am, or ought to be, a member ; and by all these methods I am brought to conclude for myself, that lay baptism, *by one in opposition* to the Church, can never be good and valid.

It is by this rule that I reckon the councils of Carthage, Iconium, and Synnada, together with the customs of the Asiatic and African churches, confirming St. Cyprian's doctrine, have as much, if not more, authority to sway my judgment in the matter of heretical and schismatical baptisms, as the council of Arles, and the after-determinations of other councils and fathers : for these latter can pretend to no more divine authority than the former, and it may be, upon a just examination, will be found to have much less ; though I have no need to dwell upon this, because my province is only confined to lay, *i. e.* unauthorised, baptism, such as is performed by persons who never were authorised for that purpose ; who act in direct opposition to that order of men who are empowered by Christ to authorise others to baptise. Against such baptisers I have produced several testimonies from the purest times ; and the adversary can bring forth in their behalf not one council, either general or provincial, till the corrupt ones of the Church of Rome.

I am very well satisfied that there is but *one true Christian baptism*, which ought not to be repeated upon those who have received it. I find myself under an impossibility to believe that this *one baptism* is any other than what Christ Himself instituted just before His ascension into heaven. I reckon an essen-

tial part of this institution—and I humbly hope in the sequel of this discourse to prove it—to be the *divine authority* of the *administrator*, as well as the water and the form of administration.

I cannot be satisfied that the person who is said to have baptised me ever had this authority; nay, I am fully convinced of the contrary, and also that he was actually in opposition to it; and though his meaning were never so good, yet I cannot think God concurred with such an usurpation, when it was done without any necessity at all, in a Christian country, where truly authorised ministers might have been had with as much, if not greater, ease and speed than he. For which reasons I find no solid foundation for believing that I have received this *one baptism*, especially since I myself should with great reason have refused his administration, as it would have been my duty, if I had been put to my own free choice, which it is certain I could not then, being but an infant. I doubt not but some will say, “that I need not concern myself so much about that which I had no hand in, and wherein I was wholly passive; if there was any fault in such my baptism, it was none of mine, but theirs who had the care of me.” To whom I return this short answer: that the parent’s, or godfather’s and godmother’s, act and deed is interpretatively the child’s, and he must make it really his own when he comes to years by taking it upon himself; so that, if *then* he owns their sinful act, knowing it to be such, he makes himself *partaker* with them in the sin.

But to return once more to the dispute in St. Cyprian's time, and the decrees then and since made about it; I cannot dissemble my thoughts that the arguments and determinations against his doctrine and practice have nothing of that reason and solidity which an inquisitive person might justly expect in them; and that, on the contrary, St. Cyprian and his colleagues defend their assertion, "that the baptisms of heretics and schismatics are invalid," with so much judgment and cogency of argument, founded upon the topic of such heretics and schismatics being destitute of holy orders while they were out of the Church of Christ, that I wonder how it could possibly have come to pass that their doctrine should be afterwards exploded; especially when I consider that what they taught and practised herein was confirmed by *numerous councils* in those earlier days, wherein truth was more prevalent than afterwards:¹ and Tertullian long before affirmed the same thing,² "that baptism

[¹ Bingham, part i. Appendix, p. 135.]

[² Tertullian *de Baptismo*, c. xv. pp. 262, 263. ed. Rigalt. Hæretici autem nullum habent consortium nostræ disciplinæ, quos extraneos utique testatur ipsa ademptio communicationis. Non debo in illis agnoscere quod mihi est præceptum, quia nec idem Deus est nobis et illis, nec unus Christus, id est idem baptismus unus, quem, quum rite non habeant, sine dubio non habent [hæretici]. C. xvii. Dandi quidem habet jus summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus. Dehinc presbyteri et diaconi: non tamen sine episcopi auctoritate, propter ecclesiæ honorem; quo salvo, salva pax est. Alioquin etiam laicis jus est; quod enim ex æquo accipitur, ex æquo dari potest.

is reserved to the bishop ; heretics are not able to give it, because they have it not ; and therefore it is that we have a *rule* to rebaptise them.”

De Pudicitia, c. xix. p. 739. ed. Rigalt. Cui enim dubium est, hæreticum institutione deceptum, cognito postmodum casu, et poenitentia expiata, et veniam consequi, et in ecclesiam redigi ? Unde et apud nos, ut ethnico par, rursus et super ethnicum hæreticus etiam per baptismam veritatis utroque nomine purgatus admittitur.

Upon this celebrated passage (*De Baptismo*, c. xvii.), the Bishop of Lincoln (*Ecclesiastical History illustrated from Tertullian*, p. 353) remarks, “ Our author’s reasoning clearly proves his opinion to have been, that this latent power, if it may be so termed, was only to be called into actual exercise in cases of necessity. Laymen, who in the present day take upon themselves to administer the rite of baptism, in cases in which the attendance of a regularly ordained minister can be procured, must not appeal to the authority of Tertullian in defence of their rash assumption of the sacred office.” And (p. 446) he adds, that Waterland (*Second Letter to Kelsall*) has, with Bennet (*Rights of the Clergy*), mistranslated the clause *propter ecclesiæ honorem*, in rendering it, “ next to the bishop, the priests and deacons, but not without the authority of the bishop, because of their honourable post in the Church, in preservation of which peace is preserved.” Bishop Kaye proposes : “ After the bishop, the priests and deacons, but not without his authority, *out of regard to the honour or dignity of the Church.*” And p. 228 : “ We are very far from meaning to defend the soundness of Tertullian’s argument in this passage. We quote it because it is one of those passages which have been brought forward to prove that *he* did not recognise the distinction between the clergy and laity ; whereas a directly opposite inference ought to be drawn. He limits the right of the laity to exercise the ministerial functions to extraordinary cases,—to

Here Tertullian talks of a rule to baptise such persons ; which plainly shews that he is not speaking so much of his own private opinion as of the law and practice of the Church. This is his relation of matter of fact, and as such to be received for a testimony of the Church's opinion concerning the baptism of heretics in his days. But his strange odd notions, in his *Exhortation to Chastity*¹ and his book *Of Baptism*, “that laics are priests, because it is written, *Christ hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father* ;” that when three are gathered together, although they be laics, they make a Church ; and that laymen may baptise in case of necessity and absence of a priest,—these appear to be only his own particular sentiments, and he cannot be called a witness of the Church's custom and allowance in these

cases of necessity. Were they to assume it in ordinary cases, they would be guilty of an act of criminal presumption, as he indirectly asserts in the tract *De Monogamia*, where he pursues *the very same train of reasoning in refutation of the same objection.*” The passage is c. xii. *Sed quum excolimur et inflamur adversus clericum, tunc unum omnes sumus, tunc omnes sacerdotes, quia sacerdotes nos Deo et Patri fecit.*]

[¹ *De Exhortatione Castitatis*, c. vii. p. 668. ed. Rigalt. Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus ? Scriptum est, *Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri Suo fecit*. Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiæ auctoritas, et honor per ordinis concessum sanctificatur. Adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est concessus, et offers et tinguis, et sacerdos es tibi solus. Sed ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici : igitur si habes jus sacerdotis in temetipso ubi necesse est, habeas oportet etiam disciplinam sacerdotis.]

things; for he talks of no rule, no law, of the Church relating to them, as he does when he speaks of the baptism of heretics, by saying, we have a rule to re-baptise them: and it is certain that no Church till the fourth century can be produced to have any rule for the allowance of lay baptism, and then none but the council of Eliberis, which I have before observed and remarked on (p. xcv.). On the contrary, against lay baptism we have the testimonies of St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and the Catholics disputing with the Luciferians in the same century, which is more than a balance against Tertullian's private opinion concerning such baptism, &c. But to go still further backward to the days wherein some of the apostles might be still living, St. Ignatius,¹ a glorious martyr, and bishop of Antioch, A.D. 71, in his epistle to the Smyrneans, says, "Let that sacrament be judged

[¹ Ignatius *ad Smyrnæos*, c. viii. p. 414. ed. Jacobson. Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Ἐκείνη βεβαίᾳ εὐχαριστίᾳ ἡγείσθω ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ φὰν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ. Ὁπου ἀν φανῆ δ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω, ὕσπερ ὅπου ἀν ἦ Χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ δὲ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Οὐκ ἔξον ἔστι χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν· ἀλλ' δὲ ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ, τοῦτο· καὶ τῷ Θεῷ εὐάρεστον, ἵν' ἀσφαλὲς ἦ καὶ βέβαιον πᾶν δ πράσσεται.

Upon which passage Bingham (p. 137) argues, that though Ignatius says it is unsafe and unlawful to baptise in opposition to the bishop's authority and order, "which no man who has a due respect to the authority of the episcopal function will deny," he does not say that such baptisms were simply invalid, and to be repeated.]

effectual and firm, which is dispensed by the *bishop*, or him to whom the bishop has committed it. It is not *lawful* without the bishop either to baptise or celebrate the offices ; but what he approves of, according to the good pleasure of God, that is *firm and safe*, and so we do every thing *securely.*"

This is so exactly agreeable to St. Cyprian's doctrine, that it is no wonder he adhered to it all the days of his life ; and it seems to me, that nothing could have given credit and reputation to the contrary opinion, but the monstrous increase of *heresy* and *schism* afterwards ; which, together with many other causes concurring, brought into the Church of Rome, and the rest of the western Churches, whom she had subjected to her vassalage, abundance of damnable doctrines and practices, insomuch that at last there was but little of solid and substantial religion to be found in the churches of her communion. And it is very observable, that even among some of us who have reformed from her errors, there is too, too much of her leaven still remaining ; for one of her very great and peculiar corruptions, in the matter of lay baptism and midwives' baptism, is still espoused by too many who ought to oppose it : and not only so, but rather than part with it, they will swallow another of her errors too, and assert the absolute necessity of baptism to all ; and, what is worse than popery itself, affirm that the want of it peoples hell with many millions ; as the author of a book,¹ falsely intituled, *The*

[¹ Bishop Fleetwood.]

Judgment of the Church of England in the case of Lay Baptism and of Dissenters' Baptism, has done. And what is the most astonishing of all is, that they who oppose the popish doctrine before spoken of are called promoters of *popery*, particularly by the Bishop of Sarum,¹ just as the Church's best friends are called her greatest enemies: but it is easy from hence to discover who they are that would introduce and establish *popery* among us.

And now, after all that has been said, I declare that it is not my design to meddle with the Cyprianic dispute in this discourse; my business is not to inquire whether those who were once duly authorised, and afterwards fall into *heresy* or *schism*, and thereby separate themselves, or are excluded from the Church, can administer valid sacraments and ordinations during this their separation: no, I shall not so much as touch upon this at all, because I do not think my case affected by it. All that I need concern myself about is, whether those who act in opposition to the acknowledged and duly authorised ministers of Christ, and who themselves were *never* duly authorised, can administer truly valid baptism, and whether the receivers of those baptisms can safely rest satisfied with them, especially when they know of this want of power and authority in the administrator. This is my case, and this is all that I concern myself about.

And therefore I wrote the following essay in a mathematical method of definition, axiom, and propo-

[¹ Burnet. Vide infra.]

sition, for the information of my own judgment in this great affair. It was not at first designed for public view ; but finding others have been, and, it may be, still do labour under the same circumstances with myself, I thought it might not be unacceptable to them : and if they shall reap any benefit thereby, or if some abler pen will undertake to mend my faults by letting the world see something more correct and exact for that purpose, the only motive of my writing, I shall obtain my end, which, God be praised, is not mixed with any alloy of worldly gain or desire of human applause for this undertaking.

As for cavilling and disputing, it is not my design to concern myself and lose my precious time in such endless impertinences. If any one will candidly shew me my errors, I shall heartily thank him for so doing ; but I declare beforehand, that no less than such demonstration as the nature of the thing will bear can ever go down with me for conviction. I am not to be put off with the authority of any great names, separate from Scripture and the consentient doctrine and practice of the primitive Church ; for this has caused too much error in the world already, and it is high time now to reform from it.

London, 22d of October, 1722.

Appendix to the Preliminary Discourse.

THE following additional authorities from the primitive Church may not be out of place.

Laurence (*Sacerdotal Powers*, p. 91), in answer to Bishop Burnet, after quoting the passage from Ignatius to the Smyrneans [p. 45], adds, “As the Lord did nothing without the Father, being united to Him, neither by Himself nor yet by His apostles, so neither do ye do any thing without your bishop and presbyters; neither endeavour to let any thing appear rational to yourselves apart.” *St. Ignatius to the Magnesians*, ch. 7.

[“Ωσπερ οὖν ὁ Κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ Πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησεν, ἡνωμένος ᾧν, οὔτε δι’ ἑαυτοῦ, οὔτε διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων μηδὲν πράσσετε· μηδὲ πειράσητε εὐλογόν τι φαίνεσθαι ἴδιᾳ ὑμῖν.—p. 308. ed. Jacobson.]

Laurence, *Lay Baptism invalid*, part ii. ch. 3, p. 35. St. Ignatius affirms: “Without bishops, priests, and deacons, there is no Church;” and that “he is without who does any thing without the bishops, and presbyters, and deacons;” [Ignat. *ad Trall.* 3.

Ομοίως πάντες ἐντρεπέσθωσαν τοὺς διακόνους — καὶ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον — τοὺς δὲ πρεσβυτέρους — χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται. It. 7. ὁ ἐντὸς θυσιαστηρίου ὃν καθαρός ἔστιν — ὁ χωρὶς ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρεσβυτερίου καὶ διακόνου πράσσων τι, οὗτος οὐ καθαρός ἔστιν τῇ συνειδήσει] ; and the passage quoted before : “ It is not lawful without the bishop to baptise.” Two things to be inquired. First, what he means, “without the bishop?” Not the bishop personally in every case, but with episcopal authority. Second, what does Ignatius refer to, when he says it is not lawful? Not lawful in regard to the laws of God and His Church; for laics attempting such ministrations would be “ no Church.” Sacraments are only in the Church; therefore their pretended baptism would be null *ipso facto*.

But are not extraordinary cases to be excepted? St. Ignatius makes no exceptions; his words are general. If there be any reason for such exception, it must be either in the law of nature—which it is not, because baptism is not a matter of natural law—or in the revealed law—and in it no such exception has been produced.

Laurence, *ibid.* p. 38.

St. Hermas, who was contemporary with St. Paul, though he had so strict an opinion of the necessity of baptism,¹ that he reckoned the righteous men of old,

[¹ Hermas, *Pastor.* iii. n. i. *Vita vestra per aquam salva facta est.*]

who had died before the coming of Christ, stood in need of Christian baptism even in their separate state; yet to supply this their necessity, none are mentioned by him to have gone to them to give them baptism but “the apostles and doctors of the preaching of the Son of God;”¹ “the apostles and teachers who preached the name of the Son of God;” men who had Christ’s and the apostles’ commission to minister in holy things. Not the least hint of any who never were commissioned to baptise, that went to supply their want of baptism.

Laurence, *Lay Baptism invalid*, part ii. p. 97. Hilary, the deacon of Rome, who is most reasonably supposed to be the author of the comments on the Epistles of St. Paul, bearing the name of St. Ambrose, says, concerning the churches of his time (and this, being written fifty years only after the council of Eliberis, shews how little notice was taken of its canon), “Now . . . neither the inferior clergy nor laymen are allowed to baptise.”² The inferior clergy were but laymen, being inferior to deacons, and having no spiritual power conferred on them. And the testimony of the pseudo-Ambrosius is val-

[¹ Similitud. m. xvi. Necessum est ut per aquam habent ascendere, ut requiescant, non poterunt enim aliter in regnum Dei intrare . . . hi apostoli et doctores, qui prædicaverunt nomen Filii Dei, dederunt eis illud signum.]

[² Nunc neque diaconi in populis prædicant, neque clericci neque laici baptizant.—*Com. in Ephes.* iv. p. 948.]

able, as to this *fact* of the practice in his time ; although his judgment is to be rejected when he thinks (as Bingham, p. 15, quotes him,¹) that the apostles gave a general commission to all the faithful to preach and baptise.

Waterland (*Second Letter to Kelsall*, p. 133) takes the same distinction between this author's testimony to the practice of his own days, and his theory upon the practice of the apostles.

Laurence, *Lay Baptism invalid*, part ii. p. 117. About the latter part of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century, appeared the Apostolical Constitutions, as Bishop Pearson and Dr. Grabe inform us. These Constitutions, though in doctrine they have been interpolated by heretics, yet in matters of discipline inform us of several things highly worthy of our observation ; among which, this of the invalidity of pretended baptism, performed by persons who were never commissioned to baptise, is very remarkable. “ It is an horrible thing for a man to thrust himself into the priest’s dignity or office, as the Korahites, Saul, and Uzziah did. As it was not lawful for a *stranger*, that was not of the tribe of Levi, to offer any thing, or approach the altar without a priest, so do ye nothing without the bishop. For if any man does any thing without the bishop, he does it *in vain* ;

[¹ Ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est evangelizare, et baptizare, et Scripturas in ecclesia explanare.—*Ibid.*.]

it shall not be reputed to him as any service. As Saul, when he had offered sacrifice without Samuel, was told that he had *done vanity*, so *whatever layman* does any thing without a priest, he *labours in vain*. And as king Uzziah, when he had invaded the priest's office, was smitten with leprosy for his transgression, so *every layman* shall bear his punishment, that contemns God and insults His priests, and takes honour to himself; not imitating Christ, who glorified not Himself, but stayed till His Father said, *Thou art a Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec.*"

Bingham, from whom this translation is taken, acknowledges (*Schol. Hist.* part i. p. 46), that this passage " *seems* to pronounce severely of usurped and unauthorised actions, as utterly null and void :" but it is plain that it does more than *seem* to pronounce so ; it does really say they are done *in vain*. " Whatever layman does any thing without a priest, he labours in vain," and therefore his action is utterly null and void.

[*Const. Apost.* ii. 27. *Labbe*, i. 264. "Οτι φρικῶδες ἄνθρωπον σεαυτὸν ἐπιφρίπτειν ἀξιώματί τινι ἱερατικῷ· ως οἱ Κορεῖται, ως Σαοὺλ, ως Ὁζίας. Ως οὐκ ἦν ἔξὸν ἀλλογενῇ μὴ ὅντα Δευτῆν προσένεγκαί τι, ἢ προσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἄνευ τοῦ ἱερέως, οὕτω καὶ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε. Εἰ δέ τις ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ποιεῖ τι, εἰς μάτην ποιεῖ αὐτό· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ εἰς ἔργον λογισθήσεται. Ως γὰρ ὁ Σαοὺλ ἄνευ τοῦ Σαμουὴλ προσενέγκας, ἥκουσεν ὅτι μεματαίωται σοι, οὕτω καὶ πᾶς λαϊκὸς ἄνευ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐπιτελῶν

τι, μάταια ποιεῖ· καὶ ὡς Ὁζίας ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ᾖν
ἱερεὺς τὰ τῶν ἱερέων ἐπιτελῶν ἐλεπρώθη διὰ παρανο-
μίαν, οὕτω καὶ πᾶς λαϊκὸς οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ἔσται, κατα-
φρονήσας Θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ καταμανεὶς ἱερέων, καὶ
τὴν τιμὴν ἀρπάσας ἔαυτῷ, μὴ μιμησάμενος Χριστὸν, ὃς
οὐχ ἔαυτὸν ἐδόξασε γενηθῆναι ἀρχιερέα, ἀλλὰ περιέ-
μεινεν ἀκοῦσαι τοῦ Πατρός· Ὡμοσε Κύριος, καὶ οὐ μετα-
μεληθήσεται· σὺν ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν
Μελχισεδέκ.]

Waterland, *Second Letter to Kelsall*, p. 142. All I observe from hence is, that no exception or proviso is made for cases of necessity: the prohibition is general and full. (And he adds another passage. *Apost. Const.* iii. 10: “ We suffer not laics to usurp any of the sacerdotal offices, as the eucharist, baptism, imposition of hands, &c.; for no man taketh upon him this honour, but he that is called of God. For this dignity is given by the imposition of hands of the bishop. But whosoever hath it not by commission, but seizes it to himself, shall bear the punishment of Ozias.”) The first quotation seems directly to make lay baptism invalid; the other is clear for the unlawfulness of it.

Laurence, *Lay Baptism invalid*, part ii. p. 33. In favour of lay baptism Bingham can produce no testimonies from the apostles or their contemporaries; nor from the apostolic fathers, who next succeeded them; nor, lastly, from any of the ancients who lived before Tertullian. So that for about the first

two hundred years of Christianity we hear nothing of lay baptisms being administered, nor of any thing in favour of them, either directly or indirectly. A strange and long silence this, in a matter which is pretended to be the “*general practice of the Church.*” What would the adversaries of episcopacy say, if antiquity had been so long silent about the power and authority of bishops? And then, by what rule should we have been determined of the *jus divinum* of episcopacy, if Scripture, and the writings of the ancients for about the first two hundred years of Christianity, had been so absolutely silent about it, as they are about the validity of lay baptism?

Bingham produces several authorities from the Fathers and early Church, which are met by Laurence as follows :

1. Bingham (p. 33) first argues from the passage in Tertullian already cited (*De Baptismo*, c. 17), to which Dodwell had objected, that it only expressed his private opinion, and not catholic practice: and Laurence adds (part ii. p. 40), that the term *alioquin* is antithetical to *propter ecclesiæ honorem*; the Church’s law and the bishop’s authority on the one hand, but, supposing these not to exist, an inherent right in Christians to discharge these functions on the other. He maintains the distinction between what was Tertullian’s view of the abstract point, and the practice of the Church; which elsewhere he speaks of: as, *De Pud.* c. 19: “ We have a *rule* to rebaptise

them.’’ [Of the value of Tertullian’s reasons, the Bishop of Lincoln’s opinion may be seen at p. 154.] And, lastly, from Tertullian’s Montanism, and his extravagant opinions on many points, a clear distinction must be kept between the value of his evidence as to facts, and his views of doctrine or interpretations of Scripture, which are utterly valueless, except so far as they are confirmed by general consent.

Waterland, *Second Letter to Kelsall*, p. 107–115. There is hardly a shadow of an argument to prove that he here spoke the sense of the Church. The words *offers* and *tingis* [see note, p. cxxii.] are to be understood *potentially*, not *indicatively*. The phrase *adeo* shews it to be an inference from this, not an assertion of a matter of fact. One consideration must satisfy on this head. Tertullian joins the administration of the Lord’s supper with that of baptism : if he spoke the practice of the Church in one, he did so in both ; which Mr. Kelsall will hardly say. That the ancient Church ever permitted laymen to consecrate the eucharist, can never be supposed by any man that knows any thing of Church-history ; and yet Tertullian’s words are as full and clear a proof of that as of the practice of lay baptism. This is demonstration that he spoke not the sense of the Church, but his own. . . . Seeing that Tertullian has but his own slender reasons to support him, I would only observe—

1. That he allows of lay baptism, but at the same time is forced to suppose laymen to be priests, in order

to qualify them to baptise : so that in the main I take him to be of my side of the question ; for if I could prove that laymen are not proper priests, which would be no hard matter, his own principles would lead to my conclusion.

2. He founds his doctrine of lay baptisms upon an inherent rite of priesthood in every Christian. But Mr. Kelsall does not find it upon this ; and therefore, while he rejects Tertullian's principles, he ought not to allege his authority for the conclusion ; because, if you disarm Tertullian of his premises, you do at the same time make him disown the conclusion built upon them.

3. Tertullian allowed of lay baptism only in case of necessity ; therefore his authority is not in favour of dissenters' baptisms, which have no such plea.

4. Tertullian acknowledges that in all ordinary cases the administration of baptism is appropriate to the clergy, and condemns all lay baptism in such cases, as irregular and sinful. Whether he would have *pronounced them invalid*, does not certainly appear ; though it might be probably enough argued that he would ; because it was his principle (*De Bapt.* c. 15) [see note, p. cxxii.] to annul heretical baptisms, and probably schismatical too (the same general reasons affecting both), and such baptisms would be schismatical. It is therefore reasonable to believe that *he* must have pronounced dissenters' baptisms (such as among us) null and void. There-

fore if Tertullian were to speak home to the point in debate, I am persuaded he would be on our side.

2. The council of Eliberis (Bingham, p. 34) already noticed. Upon which Laurence (part ii. p. 58, 111) argues: 1. That it was a small synod of nineteen bishops only. 2. The fact of these Spanish bishops publishing this canon at all, is destructive of Tertullian's inherent right in the laity to baptise; for if they had the right, why commission *some* of them to do it, and that only under certain limitations?

Waterland (*Second Letter to Kelsall*, p. 126) observes, that nothing can be drawn in favour of dissenters' baptisms from this canon; because, 1. It must be in a case of *necessity*, which dissenters cannot plead. 2. The Spanish fathers thought *authorised* lay baptisms valid; which is not the present question. 3. It does not appear that this was the doctrine of the Catholic Church; because if it had been, there was no need of a particular canon to allow it. 4. It was only a private synod; and its authority was never received in the western Church, nor urged by any of the fathers who pleaded for the validity of lay baptism.

3. The Church of Alexandria (Bingham, p. 36). This is the famous instance of Athanasius' ludicrous baptism. Ruffin¹ thus relates it:—“Alexander, bishop

[¹] Ruffin. *Hist.* lib. i. c. 14. Tempore quo, apud Alexandriam, Petri Martyris diem Alexander episcopus agebat, quum, post expleta solemnia, conventuros ad convivium secum

of Alexandria, on a certain day, being the festival of Peter the Martyr, after the solemn service of the Church was over, was entertaining himself with a prospect toward the sea, while he expected his clergy to come and dine with him. In his prospect, at some distance upon the sea-shore, he beheld a number of youths at play, acting the part of a bishop, and doing all things which were used to be done in the church ; and viewing them intently for some time, he at last saw them come to the secret and mystical rites of religion ; upon which, being somewhat perplexed, he sent immediately for his clergy, and shewed them what he himself had seen ; ordering them withal to

clericos exspectaret in loco mari vicino, videt eminus puerorum supra oram maris ludum imitantium, ut fieri solet, episcopum, atque ea quæ in ecclesia geri mos est. Sed quum intentius diutine pueros inspectaret, videt ab his geri quædam etiam secretiora et mystica. Perturbatus, illico vocari ad se clericos jubet, atque eis, quid eminus ipse videret, ostendit. Tum abire eos, et comprehensos ad se perducere omnes pueros imperat. Quumque adessent, quis eis ludus, et quid egissent, vel quomodo, percunctatur. Illi, ut talis habet ætas, pavidi, negare primo, deinde rem gestam per ordinem pandunt, et baptizatos a se esse quosdam catechumenos confitentur per Athanasium, qui ludi illius puerilis episcopus fuerat simulatus. Tum ille diligenter inquirens ab his qui baptizati dicebantur, quid interrogati fuerint quidve responderint, simul et ab eo qui interrogaverat ; ubi videt secundum religionis nostræ ritum cuncta constare, conlocutus cum concilio clericorum, statuisse traditur, illis quibus integris interrogationibus et responsionibus aqua fuerit infusa, iterari baptismum non debere, sed adimpleri ea quæ a sacerdotibus mos est.]

go and bring the boys before him. Who being asked what play they were at, and what they had done, and after what manner ; they at first denied all the whole matter, as children use to do, through fear ; but afterwards they told every thing in order as it was done, confessing that they had baptised certain catechumens, by the hands of Athanasius, who acted the part of the bishop in the play. Then examining further of those who were said to be baptised, what questions they were asked, and what answers they made ; and being likewise informed by him who had been the chief actor ; when he found that all things had been done according to the rites of our religion. After he had conferred with a council of his clergy, he is said to have determined, that the baptism of those on whom water had been poured, with the proper interrogatories and responses, ought not to be repeated, but only have those things added which the priests were used to perform.”

This story Bingham defends by the authority of Socrates and Sozomen, who also, he says, relate it, the author of the life of Athanasius in Photius, Johannes Moschus, and others. Though Spanheim disbelieved it, archbishops Whitgift and Abbot, Cotelarius and Pagi defended it ; and Nicephorus Callistus produced a parallel case at Constantinople.

Laurence (part ii. p. 64) replies : 1. That supposing the story to be true, the judgment was so far from being that of the Church of Alexandria, that it was only that of Alexander and the clergy dining with

him. 2. That Ruffin is a writer of little accuracy and credit. 3. That Sozomen merely quotes it from Ruffin. 4. That Socrates, whose authority is higher than that of Sozomen, although he refers to Ruffin, omits all mention that the children baptised at all, or that Alexander confirmed such baptisms, but simply that he saw certain children playing at clergymen—that he took notice of them, and desired they might be educated in the Church, and that Athanasius was the chief of them: and yet more, that Sozomen avows his intention of extracting from Ruffin only what is true; and the fact that he has omitted all notice of the ludicrous baptism, is fair evidence that he disbelieved this part of Ruffin's story. 5. That the author in Photius is worthy of little credit, especially as he goes so far as to say that the children were inspired *divino quodam instinctu*. 6. That Johannes Moschus was a Greek monk, in the seventh century, of no credit whatsoever. 7. And the same may be said of Nicephorus, in the fourteenth. 8. That Dupin and Cave disbelieve it. 9. That, after all, Ruffin only says of Alexander, *statuisse traditur*.

Hickes (*Letter to Laurence*, p. 19) calls it “a hearsay story;” quotes Sozomen, ii. 17, who says of it ΦΑΣΙΝ only; and adds, that the Benedictine editors of Athanasius reject it.

4. Optatus, already examined [note ¹, p. xciii.].
5. St. Jerome¹ (Bingham, p. 39) declares that in cases of necessity laymen might baptise.

[¹ *Dial. contra Lucifer.* c. iv. Quod frequenter (si tamen

And upon this Bingham objects to the doctrine of Forbes, in the translation of which Laurence mistook the minor proposition for the major (see *Prel. Disc.* p. xcix.), and Reeves, who in his notes on Vincent of Lerins had followed him.

Brett (*Inquiry into the Judgment of the Church*, p. 30-40) impugns Bingham's statement; and Laurence argues upon Jerome's inconsistency, p. 120-142: 1. That Jerome grounds his doctrine not upon catholic practice, but only on Tertullian's axiom, that "what a man has received he can give," which is true neither in truth, reason, or religion; (and he instances the case of a freeman of a city, and asks, because he is free, can he make others free?) : if true, it would give the right to women, which Tertullian inconsistently denies. 2. That Jerome's own reasoning makes lay baptism invalid on catholic principles, and gives the history of the Luciferians, p. 123. Lucifer, bishop of Calaris, resolved to have no correspondence with bishops who had received into communion such as had signed Arian creeds. His followers insisted that the orders of Arian bishops were null and void; and that upon their repentance they ought not to be received into the clergy; while at the same time they received Arian laymen into communion, though they had been baptised by Arian clergy, only by imposition of hands. And St. Jerome, in the person of Ortho-

necessitas cogit) scimus etiam licere laicis. Ut enim accipit quis, ita et dare potest.]

doxus, argues with a Luciferian :—You acknowledge by your practice that the baptism administered by Arian clergy is good, because you admit their laics to communion without rebaptising: you ought to acknowledge their orders; for to be consistent, if you reject their orders, you ought to reject their baptism, which you do not. And this was to say, by implication, that had the Arian baptism been that of those who had no power to baptise, in other words, lay baptism, it would have been rejected both upon Catholic and Luciferian principles; or, in Forbes' words, *quos baptizavit laicus, ii sunt denuo baptizandi*. St. Jerome concludes the validity of the Arian priesthood from the validity of the Arian baptisms, which the Luciferians allowed; for had the Arians no priesthood, they would have had no baptism. And further, Jerome elsewhere asserts, *Ecclesia non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes*. How inconsistent, therefore, is it in Jerome to argue, on the one hand, that any one might baptise, and on the other, that had the Arians been no priests, every one would have rejected their baptisms on that ground!

Waterland (*Second Letter to Kelsall*, p. 146) is disposed to deny that St. Jerome is inconsistent. “He might think lay baptism unauthorised, and in ordinary cases invalid, and yet allow of the validity of authorised lay baptism in cases extraordinary. Yet nothing can be drawn from him in favour of dissenters’ baptisms, which have no permission, nor plea of necessity.”

6. St. Augustine. Bingham (p. 40) produces a passage from his epistle to Fortunatus, quoted in Gratian;¹ to which Laurence objects, that, if Augustine's at all (and this may be deemed doubtful, Gratian's authority not being unexceptionable), it is not to the purpose, being prefaced by a *solemus audire*; and that it is not a distinct testimony to the matter of fact, that baptism was esteemed valid by whomsoever administered. But with reference to Augustine's controversy with the Donatists, passages from which have been already adduced, and which are in favour of the validity of other than episcopal baptism, Laurence argues, that this great saint's opinions were in many cases new to the Church—that his authority is only valuable when confirmed by general consent—that although great deference, especially in the Roman Church, was allowed to his dogmas, still we may be permitted in his, as in all other cases of single authority, to combat the reasons upon which he grounds his views—that his principle is the mere *opus operatum*—and that the testimony of any single father is only authoritative as to *facts*, but never as to *doctrines*; and he denies that even Augustine is at all a witness of the *practice* of the ancient Catholic Church.

Waterland, *Second Letter to Kelsall*, p. 146–153. It was objected to St. Augustine by the Donatists, that heretics or schismatics had forfeited their orders,

[¹ Etiam laicos solere dare sacramentum, quod acceperunt, *solemus audire*.]

and therefore could not validly baptise. He answers this objection, 1. by denying the supposition on which this objection was founded; proving that heresy and schism did not vacate *orders*; for these reasons, because neither heresy nor schism could vacate baptism once truly given; and he thought there was a plain analogy between the *sacrament*, as he calls it, of orders and that of baptism. The Catholic Church always thought that orders once truly given could not be deleted by any thing. If heretical or schismatical clergy returned to the Church, they were allowed to officiate without any new ordination; that even though they might not be allowed to officiate, they were not looked upon as laymen, and therefore did not submit to penance and imposition of hands, which was the discipline for returning laics. To this answer, full, plain, and unexceptionable, and agreeable to the rules and practice of the Catholic Church, he subjoins another of his own with great diffidence and modesty.

2. He denies the consequence, that baptism must necessarily be null upon supposition that heresy or schism did vacate orders; and he brings it in *ex abundanti*.

Quanquam etsi laicus aliquis pereunti dederit (baptismum) necessitate compulsus, quod cum ipse acciperet, quomodo dandum esse addidicit, nescio an hic quisquam dixerit esse repetendum?

He is here offering his own private conjecture in a case that had not been expressly determined in any

council, though the reason of the thing and the custom of the Church were sufficiently against him. He has neither rule nor instance to plead in his behalf, and therefore endeavours to supply that want by his own private reason ; and so he goes on to give his opinion that lay baptism may be valid even in ordinary cases, though irregular and sinful, upon this principle,—*quod datum fuerit, non potest dici non datum*: which is either begging the question, or arguing thus,—“a person is washed in the name of the Trinity, therefore he is baptised.” After he had wandered a little in the dark about this question, indulging too far his own private conjectures, he returns at length to his first answer, as being more just and solid, and abides by it; insisting again upon it, that heretical or schismatical clergy had not lost their orders, and he appeals to the decision of the whole Christian world in proof of his assertion. By the way, it is very apparent that St. Augustine never imagined that the baptisms of the schismatical or heretical clergy were lay baptisms, nor that the council of Arles [see *Prel. Disc.* p. xcviij.] or Nice [*do.* p. xcviij.; see also *Editor's Preface*], or any other, meant any such thing. That was what none but the Donatists pretended in that time or since, till *Mr. Bingham was pleased to oblige the world with the second part of his Scholastical History, which I heartily wish for his own sake, and for the sake of his other excellent works, he had never published, so much to the discredit of himself and them.*

It may be observed, that St. Augustine's maxim was a short solution for any difficulty ; and were it as solid too, would justify all the lengths of popery, and would not only prove that heretics or schismatics, whether of the clergy or laity, may validly baptise, but that women or children, and even Jews, Turks, and pagans, either seriously or in sport and mockery, may administer true baptism. But his maxim was novel, and founded on a weak pretence. St. Augustine had his *nostrums* and peculiar opinions : he often left the paths of his predecessors to follow a path wholly new ; as Dupin has judiciously observed of him, applying to him the character that Cicero gives of himself, that he was *magnus opinator*.¹

[¹ St. Cyprian was wrong in one of his principles, and St. Augustine refuted him on it. St. Cyprian argued thus : where there are no orders, there is no baptism ; but all heresy or schism nulls orders ; therefore where there is heresy or schism, there is no baptism : and this he applied to the Novatians. St. Cyprian's minor was untrue ; and when the Donatists adopted it, St. Augustine thoroughly confuted it ; but he did not confute his major. St. Cyprian rejected the baptism of schismatics, because he denied their orders ; or, as St. Basil expresses it, they had no more sacerdotal right than laymen. The *fact* was, that the Novatians had orders, and consequently baptism ; therefore St. Cyprian was wrong in his conclusion, that they were to be rebaptised. But this does not affect his other principle, that there is no baptism where there are no orders. If St. Cyprian could have proved, which he did not, and the councils of Arles and Nice decided against him, that the Novatians' schism had nulled their orders, his conclusion would have been true. But though St. Augustine “completely

7. Gelasius, A.D. 492, who (p. 42) restricts the office of baptism to bishops and presbyters, excluding deacons from it, except in cases of necessity and in the absence of the superior minister; in which emergencies it was allowed to Christian laymen to administer this sacrament. [Gelasius, *Epist. 9 ad Lucam*, cap. viii. *Absque episcopo vel presbytero baptizare non audeant diaconi; nisi prædictis fortasse officiis longius constitutis necessitas extrema compellat; quod et laicis Christianis facere plerumque conceditur.*] To which Laurence answers: 1. That the authority is vague; it may refer only to the practice of Gelasius or his predecessors. 2. The phrase *conceditur* shews that, in this case, it was a grant from the Church; the baptisms whose invalidity is disputed are those *unauthorised*: and on the whole passage he remarks, that it by no means authorises Bingham's inference, that "laymen in the absence of deacons had as much authority as deacons in the absence of priests:" for, 1. baptism by deacons was an apostolic institution; and 2. we know that diaconal baptism was a catholic practice. But that the passage does not serve the cause of lay baptism.

8. Isidore of Seville, A.D. 595, has a passage almost word for word the same as the last; to which Laurence makes the same reply, adding that probably and solidly" (Waterland, p. 124) answered St. Cyprian on this point—or rather the Donatists, who adopted Cyprian's minor—he is not so successful against the major, which, as it seems, he went out of his way to attack also.]

he had an eye only to the practice of the Spanish Church, founded upon the decision of the synod of Eliberis.

Laurence concludes (p. 172) : The profound silence of the days of the apostles and apostolic fathers, and of the three first centuries of Christianity, concerning laymen being at all commissioned to baptise, is a full proof that the bishops' authorising them to baptise can never be founded on any *catholic tradition* of the primitive Church of Christ ; and more, if there had in truth been such a catholic tradition, even from the times of the apostles to this day, as there never was, yet still this would be of no advantage to the pretended baptisms of our laics, *i. e.* our dissenters, who were never commissioned by bishops (and indeed who cannot be commissioned, for they have no bishops) to baptise.

Laurence, p. 189. Bingham admits (p. 46), that “most of his authorities only justify lay baptism in cases of necessity ; neither Tertullian, nor the council of Eliberis, nor St. Jerome, nor Gelasius, nor Isidore, have said any thing upon usurped and unauthorised baptism :” but still concludes, and that mainly upon the authority of St. Augustine, that though irregular in the administrator, such baptism is not wholly void in the party receiving it.

Laurence (p. 190) taking this admission of Bingham, and also his assertions—1. “That the apostolic commission to baptise was to continue to the end of the world ;” 2. That the conveyance of this commis-

sion to others was “*necessary to preserve* the Church, according to *the order of Christ*, in future ages ;” 3. That “*none can have* a power of baptising but he that receives, some way or other, a commission from the apostles ;” 4. That “*the original power of administering baptism is lodged solely in the hands of bishops*, as the apostles’ immediate successors, and derivatively conveyed from them to others ;” 5. That “*when baptism was done by others than the bishop*, it was still done by his authority, and reputed as his act ;” and 6. That “*for six hundred years the general sense and practice of the ancient Church, grounded, as they suppose, upon the commission given to the apostles, whereby bishops, as the apostles’ successors, are qualified, first, to give baptism themselves, and then to grant a commission to others*, and that either to presbyters and deacons, or to presbyters alone in ordinary cases, and in cases extraordinary and of *extreme necessity* to deacons and laymen,”—concludes that all this makes a wide difference between ancient lay baptisms, even supposing them to have been practised, and dissenters’ baptisms now : for in these latter, 1. The apostolic commission is broken off. 2. Its conveyance is wanting. 3. There is a want of power to baptise, where none has received in any manner a commission from the apostles. 4. The original power, “lodged solely in the hands of bishops, is not derivatively conveyed to” the usurping unauthorised lay pretender. 5. Here being no baptism by episcopal authority, such pretended baptism cannot be reputed

as the bishop's act. And 6. In these baptisms nothing can be seen of the practice of the ancient Church, which, even upon Bingham's view, was “*grounded upon the commission granted in cases ordinary and extraordinary,*” for here is no grant of any commission at all.

And, p. 193–209, Laurence argues that the ancient Church, when she admitted the validity of heretical and schismatical baptisms, such as that of the Arians, did not consider them unauthorised, uncommissioned, and anti-episcopal, because such ministers had themselves received valid orders, or could trace them to the Church ; that they all had a succession, and that an episcopal one, as in the cases of the Arian, Novatian, and Meletian bishops; that the eighth canon of the council of Nice, which admitted the Novatian clergy to the same standing in the Church which they would have had as the orthodox, plainly assumed the validity of their orders, and consequently of their baptisms ; and, lastly, that the rite of imposition of hands, by which they who had received heretical baptism were reconciled to the Church, was not to supply any supposed defect in the baptism itself, or to give it validity, but was the ceremony by which penitents, in which light alone they were viewed, were absolved : and he concludes, “And when the case of our dissenters shall be proved to be the same with those Novatians ; when their having no episcopal commission shall be proved to be the same with the Novatians, who plainly had one,—then, and not till then,

can ‘a reconciliatory imposition of hands by way of absolution’ (which Bingham had suggested) be sufficient for the receiving of our dissenters as validly baptised persons in the sense of the Catholic Church. For there are no instances that can be brought to prove that the ancient Catholic Church ever received by imposition of hands, without baptism, such persons as were only washed before by those who were known, or supposed, to have been *never episcopally commissioned* to baptise.”—p. 209.

Waterland, *Second Letter to Kelsall*, p. 153 et seq. We may take our leave of the ancients, after we have summed up their evidence.

1. As to authorised lay baptism in cases of necessity, there is some plea for it in antiquity, from Tertullian, the council of Eliberis, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine; but all together make no proof of the *general sense and practice of the Church* in favour of it, but rather the contrary implicitly; as St. Cyprian, St. Basil, Pacian, and the Apostolical Constitutions, do more plainly. *And yet had all these authorities been for lay baptism in cases of necessity, authorised by bishops, it is wide of the present question.*

2. As to unauthorised lay baptism in ordinary cases, which is the point in dispute, there are St. Cyprian, St. Basil, Pacian, directly and expressly against its being valid, and the rest implicitly and consequentially: not one directly or implicitly for it, except Optatus and St. Augustine, and that not as

witnesses of the Church's practice, but as disputants in a nice and difficult controversy, or as private doctors. However, I am willing to admit, though not easy to be proved, that the doctrine of lay baptism's being valid in some cases crept gradually into the western Church from the time of St. Augustine, and, like other corruptions of popery, came to its height in the following centuries; though it does not appear that it prevailed in the Greek Church so early as the twelfth century. [See *Appendix*, p. 167, &c.]

I shall here subjoin two probable or presumptive proofs to confirm the foregoing observations.

I. There was no universal standing principle among the ancients whereon to found the validity of lay baptism.

II. There were some general standing principles universally held, which do by consequence overthrow it.

I. I shall examine the chief principles that can be supposed to have any weight in the case, and shew why I think none of them were universally held.

1. The plea of necessity could not warrant lay baptism; no mention of it occurs in the earliest writers. The baptism of women, Jews, and pagans, was absolutely disallowed.

2. The principles of inherent priesthood could not warrant it, because the ancients never allowed lay consecration of the eucharist in cases of necessity.

3. The principle of St. Augustine and Optatus, that lay baptism was Christ's baptism, and therefore

not depending on the administrator, is no principle of the Church, no author mentioning it besides these two fathers. The two instances quoted against the supposed principles just mentioned would be inconsistent with this third.

4. Another principle of St. Augustine, *quod datum datum*, would prove that orders and consecration administered by laymen were nevertheless orders and consecration, which is contrary to all antiquity.

5. Another principle held to favour it, that every one might give what he has received, therefore every baptised person might baptise, is novel. If it were true, it would prove that a deacon might make a deacon, and a priest a priest, and a layman give the eucharist, if he had received it.

6. Another principle whereon some would found the validity of lay baptism is, the permission or authority of the Church; yet there is no proof that the sense of the Church ever countenanced it. St. Augustine seems to have known nothing about it.

7. The principle which seems most to prevail now is, that a subsequent act of the Church supplies all deficiencies, and renders any pretended baptisms valid. This I do not meet with in any of the ancients. Confirmation was a distinct thing from baptism, not an essential to it; it was always supposed that baptism was complete as to essentials without it. Confirmation helped to improve and advance what was begun in baptism; the same may be said of the eucharist. So either or both might contribute

to make baptism more effectual, but not to supply any thing wanting to the essentials of it.

II. There were some standing principles held by the ancient Church, which by consequence overthrow lay baptism.

1. Laymen were absolutely forbidden to intermeddle in sacred offices, no proviso being made for cases of great necessity; lay baptism was therefore sinful, and probably null.

2. Another avowed principle of the primitive Catholic Church was, that the Christian clergy were proper priests. From this I infer, that no ministration can be valid which is not sacerdotal: the sacrament is no sacrament if administered by unauthorised hands. If, therefore, the primitive Church took baptism to be a sacerdotal act, and the clergy to be proper priests, they disallowed all baptism by laymen.

3. Another principle was, that there could be no such thing as lay consecration. If the virtue of the sacrament of the eucharist depend upon Christ's commission, why should not the virtue of the sacrament of baptism depend upon His commission also? That deacons were in Scripture permitted to baptise makes no difference, because *they were priests of the third order.*

4. Another principle was, that lay ordination was null and void. If ordination depends on the commission, why should not baptism also?

These may serve as probable arguments against

it, much stronger than any urged in its favour from the ancients. Two inferences I draw from the whole.

1. That it is very certain that the *general sense and practice of the primitive Church* did not countenance or establish the validity of lay baptism.

2. It is more than probable that they did both in judgment and practice favour the direct contrary ; and the chief, if not only, reason why we have not fuller and more repeated proofs of it is, because the matter came not into dispute, no laics ever attempting to baptise, except among heretics, nor then without the countenance and approbation of the bishops. Remarkable are the words of St. Jerome in relation to Hilary, the Roman *deacon*, who was therefore a degree above a laic :

“ Hilarius, cum diaconus ab ecclesia recesserit, solusque, ut putat, turba sit mundi, neque eucharistiam confidere potest, episcopos et presbyteros non habens, neque baptisma sive eucharistia tradere ; et cum jam homo mortuus sit, cum homine pariter interiit et secta, quia post se nullum clericum diaconus potuit ordinare. *Ecclesia autem non est, quæ non habet sacerdotes.*”

Lay Baptism invalid.

INTRODUCTION.

OF THE NATURE AND OBLIGATION OF DIVINE POSITIVE
INSTITUTIONS OF RELIGION.

Definitions.

I. A DIVINE positive institution of religion is that which God Himself requires and commands to be done, and which, having no intrinsic or moral excellence in itself, without His command and appointment, we could never have been bound to the observance of, nor ever have conveyed to us by the observation thereof any *supernatural* benefit or advantage whatsoever.

II. The essential parts of a divine positive institution are those which we are obliged constantly to observe, as long as the utmost duration of the force and obligation of the institution itself.

III. I call an act invalid for the purposes of such an institution, when we have no just reason or motive from divine revelation to expect that God should so far concur with that act, as to convey by *means thereof* those supernatural advantages He has annexed to the institution.

IV. By the supernatural advantages annexed to

an institution, I mean all those spiritual privileges and benefits which by nature we cannot have, and which God has promised to bestow, upon condition of our duly performing that institution, which He has made to be the ordinary means of conveying those benefits to us.

V. By the divine authority of the administrator, I mean that commission which God at first gave to men, and which they have ever since handed down to others, by His order and appointment, to administer in His holy ordinances.

VI. By a lay administration, I mean that which is performed by one who never was commissioned or empowered for that act, by those whom God has appointed to be the conveyers of His authority and commission to men for that purpose.

Axioms, or undeniable maxims.

I. The essential parts of any thing are of the same nature as the whole.

II. God Himself may dispense with any of His own positive institutions, either in whole or in part; and bestow the benefits annexed to them when, to whom, and how He pleases.

III. No ecclesiastical or civil authority can dispense with any divine positive institution, either in whole or in any essential part, so long as it is binding and obliging to us.

IV. The only way to determine whether an act is valid or invalid for the purposes of a divine positive

institution, is to know whether that act be lawful or unlawful, agreeable or contrary to the will of God; which is to be found no where, but either in the institution itself or in some other part or parts of His written word, relating to the same institution.

V. No power or authority on earth can, by any after-act, not appointed by God for that purpose, make that which before was invalid to become as valid as conforming to the divine institution itself would have made it.

VI. *He that knows to do good, and does it not, to him it is sin;*¹ and a continuance in sin can bring no supernatural benefit or advantage.

Proposition I. Every essential part of a divine positive institution of religion is of equal obligation and necessity to us.

Demonstration. This is evident, first, from the very nature of such an institution, which, by definition 1, has no intrinsic excellence, or moral virtue, to oblige us to observe it, till the divine command lays that necessity upon us; so that now we are obliged only by virtue of the authority commanding, which being but one, *i. e.* that of God, must necessarily reach to every essential part of the institution, and thereby make them all of equal authority and equally necessary and obliging to us; because they are every one of the same nature as the institution itself, by axiom 1; and, secondly, this is further evident, from

[¹ Jam. iv. 17.]

definition 2, since we are constantly bound to observe every such essential part as long as the institution itself shall have any force or virtue. Therefore, since every one of these parts have but one authority, without any inherent virtue separate therefrom, and are also binding as long as the institution shall last, it must needs be certain that they are all of equal obligation and necessity to us. But this is so very plain, at the first proposal, to all intelligent persons, that it hardly deserves the name of a proposition to be demonstrated, and therefore I shall not lose more time about it.

Corollary. Hence it follows, that as no human authority can dispense with any divine positive institution (axiom 3), so neither can they give any superiority of excellency or necessity to one essential part thereof more than to another, because they are all equally necessary and obliging, and have their whole force and energy merely from the divine command.

Prop. II. Whosoever justly esteems an act, said to be done in pursuance of a divine positive institution, to be wholly null and invalid for want of one essential part of that institution, ought also to acknowledge that such an act is as much null and void when it wants but any other one essential part of the same institution.

Demonst. For he can reasonably judge that act to be invalid only because it is unlawful, or contrary to the institution (axiom 4); so that the want of

that essential part being unlawful, he thence concludes the invalidity of the act. Now, forasmuch as all the essential parts of the institution are of equal authority and necessity to us, by the foregoing proposition, it must necessarily follow that the omission of any one of them will be equally unlawful or invalid; and consequently such a deficient act as wants any one of those essential parts, being by him justly esteemed invalid, ought also, for the same reason, to be esteemed as much invalid, when he knows it to want but any other one essential part of the same institution: which was the thing to be proved.

Corol. Hence it unavoidably follows, that there can be no such thing as a partial invalidity, through the omission of any essential part of a divine positive institution; for if the act be wholly null for want of one such part, it must be also entirely void for the want of any other, by reason of the equal authority and necessity of every essential part.

Prop. III. He who knows himself bound to conform to a divine positive institution in all its essential parts, and is convinced that he has not so far conformed, can have no just grounds to expect the supernatural benefits annexed to that institution, till he has done his utmost for the obtaining of them, by endeavouring an entire conformity to every essential part of the said institution.

Demonst. This wants but little proof: for thus entirely to obey the institution is certainly good; and he who knows this, and does it not, to him it is sin

(axiom 6); which if he continues in, no supernatural advantage can accrue to him thereby, (by the same axiom,) much less those benefits annexed to the observance of the institution; and consequently he ought to do his utmost for the obtaining of them, by endeavouring, &c.: as was to be demonstrated.

Lay Baptism invalid.

CHRISTIAN baptism is a divine positive institution of our most holy religion, whereby it is appointed, that the *apostles*, and their *successors* to the end of the world, should, by virtue of a particular commission which Christ gave them for this purpose, either themselves in person, or by *their substitutes*, enter into discipleship, or into the Church of Christ, all nations, baptising them “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,” &c. The supernatural privileges and benefits annexed to this institution are, the pardon of sins, the gift of the Holy Ghost, and eternal life after death; or, as the Church of England words it, “being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace, members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors (or heirs) of the kingdom of heaven :” which vast and unspeakable advantages none can ordinarily have any right or title to, but those who are duly admitted to them by this one true Christian baptism.

That it is a positive institution, is certain from hence; because before the divine command enjoined

it, we were never bound to observe it, either in whole or in part. Washing us then with water had no intrinsic or moral virtue, to give us any spiritual advantages; nor would it have had any thing more of efficacy for that purpose, if we had been washed with water, and at the same time used the words, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;" for these words being pronounced, could then have had no more virtue than others. Neither would it have signified any thing to us, whether we had been washed either by ourselves alone, or by some other person; or whether that other person were a common man, or one set apart by consent of the people for that end. None of these things could, by any excellence in their own nature, have conveyed to us any spiritual benefits whatsoever; nor could we have been obliged, in a religious sense, to observe any one of them; because the divine command had not enjoined them. This, I suppose, all will acknowledge; and consequently, that our obligation to receive Christian baptism, and from them by whom it is ordered to be administered, is wholly founded upon the divine command, on which alone depends the whole force and energy of a divine positive institution of religion (according to definition 1); and that therefore the administration of Christian baptism, in all its parts, is no other than a mere positive institution, exactly agreeable to the said definition. This being premised, I proceed now to demonstrate, in four propositions, what are the essential parts of this

great institution of Christianity, on the part of the administration thereof.

Prop. I. That on the part of the administration, the divine authority of the administrator, the matter (water), and the form of administering (in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost), are every one of them essential parts of the divine positive institution of Christian baptism.

Demonst. That the water, and the form of administration in the name of the Trinity, are essential parts of this institution, was never disputed by any but heretics ; and even these (except such as the Quakers) never opposed against the water's being so, but only against the form of administration in the name of the Trinity. I shall not make it my business to endeavour their conviction, who oppose the plain and express words of the institution ; and from whence all sound and orthodox Christians have unanimously agreed to pronounce baptism null and void when administered without expressing the names of all the three sacred Persons ; because such baptisms are directly against the institution itself.

Taking it therefore for granted, by all who have any value for this holy ordinance, that the water, and the form of administration in the name of the Trinity, are essential parts thereof, I shall spend no time about the proof of it, but proceed to demonstrate that the divine authority of the administrator is also an essential part of the same institution ; or (which is the same thing) that the divine authority of the

administrator is to be constantly observed by us, as long as the utmost duration of the force and obligation of the divine positive institution of Christian baptism : and, that it is so, will be evident,

1. From the general consideration of God's making the divine authority of the administrator to be an essential part of His own positive institutions under the Mosaic law.

2. By the example of our Saviour's not taking upon Him to minister in such holy things till He was particularly and externally commissioned for that purpose.

3. From the words of institution of Christian baptism.

4. From the design and benefits thereof.

5. From the constant practice of those who truly are, and of others who pretend to be, the lawful ministers of the Christian Church.

6. From the doctrine and practice of the Church of England in particular.

I. I say, the general consideration of God making the divine authority of the administrator to be an essential part of His own positive institutions under the Mosaic law, will go a great way towards proving the like under the gospel-dispensation ; because the things that were then written were not written for their sakes only, but also for our example ; as the apostle¹ has told us, and as he has most excellently argued, almost throughout his whole epistle to the

[¹ 1 Cor. x. 11.]

Hebrews, wherein he makes the comparison between the Mosaic law and the gospel, and gives a vast preference to the latter before the former. It is, therefore, worthy our consideration, that in the law none could approach the divine presence in the administration of His positive institutes, but those who were first authorised by Him for that purpose. And therefore we find,¹ that when Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, exceeded their own bounds no farther than the offering of incense, there was no less than a miracle wrought, the very earth was made to open its mouth and swallow them, their wives and their children, and all that they had; and a fire from the Lord consumed two hundred and fifty princes, accomplices with them in the same crime,—to make them a standing example to future ages, that none might usurp the authority of administering in His positive institutions without a commission first received from Him. Nay, so jealous was God of this honour, that He suddenly struck Uzzah dead,² only for putting forth his hand to save the ark, as he thought, from falling when it was shook: his zeal was no defence for him; God would not pardon but punish him for it, because it was none of his business to meddle in such holy things. So king Saul,³ notwithstanding his plea of necessity for want of a priest, and the danger of falling into the hands of his enemies before he had made his peace with God, had his kingdom rent from him for presuming only to offer a

[¹ Num. xvi.][² 2 Sam. vi. 6.][³ 1 Sam. xiii. 8.]

sacrifice himself, it being none but the priest's office so to do. More examples of this kind might be brought; but these, I think, are sufficient to shew that God set such a mighty value upon the commission He gave to some orders of men, that He would not accept of even His own appointments when they were profaned by *unhallowed, uncommissioned* hands. And what is this but to make the divine commission to be an essential part of such positive institutions? Insomuch that if any should have knowingly concurred with those who usurped it, they would have made themselves *partakers* in the sin, as well as the punishment, of the usurpers; as we see was exemplified in the case of Korah and his company, for no less than fourteen thousand seven hundred of them were destroyed by a plague, besides the great number of those who were before swallowed alive into the earth, and burnt with fire from the Lord: and if so, may we not justly infer that God is still as jealous of this honour under the gospel, the ministers whereof being of so much greater dignity, by how much the gospel is more excellent than the law of Moses? It is certain that even now, in the Christian dispensation, *no man can take this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron*:¹ and Aaron's call was not by his great gifts, and the inward dictates of the Spirit, but by an *external commission* first given by God Himself to Moses, and then by Moses, at the command of God, to Aaron. But,

II. The example of our Saviour's not taking

[¹ Heb. v. 4.]

upon Him to minister in holy things between God and man, till He was particularly and externally commissioned by God for that purpose, is a further advance towards proving that the divine authority of the administrator of baptism is an essential part of this institution. For, notwithstanding He was full of the Holy Ghost, which was not given by measure, but entirely, to Him ; notwithstanding His manhood was inseparably united to the second Person of the most glorious Trinity, whereby He was more than sufficiently, nay, infinitely gifted for such a purpose ; and notwithstanding the great necessities and consequent miseries of all mankind, which were continually wanting His undertaking to administer for them in things pertaining to God ; yet He kept Himself in His private station for about thirty years together, and never would take upon Himself so high an office, till He received His commission and inauguration thereinto from the hands of a prophet (John the Baptist), who baptised Him, to fulfil this part of righteousness and justice ; viz. of not taking upon Himself to be a minister of the new covenant, without a special warrant from God, by the mediation of one who was by Him appointed to convey this power and authority to Him : and then we find that God Himself, by the descent of the Holy Ghost upon Him in a visible glory, and by an audible voice from heaven, saying, *This is My beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased,*¹ confirmed His great commission ; and that

[¹ Matt. iii. 17.]

from thenceforward, and not before, He proceeded in the execution of it. From that time He preached and taught, gave His apostles order to baptise and preach, wrought miracles Himself, and gave others power to do so likewise, for the confirmation of His doctrine, &c. Now, what should be the reason of our Saviour's thus long desisting from the performance of such beneficial offices ? Was He not sufficiently gifted ? Yes, certainly He was. Did not the extreme miseries of man's spiritual bondage call loudly for relief ? Beyond all doubt they did. Why then did not even Compassion itself, the blessed Jesus, then personally among them, undertake their speedy rescue ? Was it because His hour was not yet come ? Doubtless it was not come ; but why ? Because He had not yet received His *commission* from His Father. So that, if our Lord's example may be allowed in this case to be conclusive, it is plain that not all the gifts imaginable, nor all the pressing necessities that may be pleaded, can ever of themselves give sufficient warrant to minister authoritatively, for men, in things pertaining to God, when those things are of such a nature as that a commission from Him must be first obtained by the person who undertakes to administer ; and that therefore such a person ought to be duly commissioned for such administrations. Now that Christian baptism is such an institution as necessarily requires, and constantly supposes, the divine authority of the administrator, I shall endeavour to demonstrate,—

III. From the words of institution. And in order thereto, it will be very well worth while to observe, that our Saviour, a little before His ascension into heaven, appointed the *eleven apostles*, and *them only* (notwithstanding the vast numbers of other disciples which He had at the same time), to go to a particular mountain in Galilee, which He had told them of (St. Matt. xxviii. 16), where, when they were assembled, He came to them, and first asserted His own power and authority, wherewith He was invested, to authorise and commission them for the great office He was then going to confer on them, saying, *All power is given unto Me in heaven and in earth* (ver. 18); whereby He sufficiently assured them that they might rest secure and satisfied, that the commission He was going to give them was of full force and virtue, and sufficiently valid to empower them to act for the future according to the contents thereof. And, indeed, the great things He was about to authorise them to do were of so uncommon a nature, and of such vast consequence to mankind, that they might very well have doubted even of the sufficiency of their commission, if our Lord had not thus fixed their faith in His power and authority to give it them. When, therefore, He had thus prepared their minds, He then proceeds to give them this commission, as the consequent of that power which was given Him over all things, saying, *Go ye, therefore, and teach* (or rather, *disciple*) *all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the*

Son, and of the Holy Ghost : teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you ; and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world (ver. 19). These are the words of institution of baptism ; wherein it is clear, at first sight, that the eleven apostles were the peculiar persons to whom the authority of baptising was committed—*Go ye* ; and not only they, but also all those who should succeed them, to the end of the world—*Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world* ; for our Saviour's promise to be with them so long, cannot possibly be meant of their particular persons, which were not to live to the end of the world, and therefore it must signify the apostles in another sense, viz. those whom *they* and *their successors* should appoint throughout all ages.

So that, by the words of institution above recited, it plainly appears, that so long as the world shall last, the apostles and their successors are the persons commissioned to disciple the nations, baptising them ; and hereby it is necessarily implied, that as often as this one baptism is performed, so often it is done by one who has this commission given to him ; otherwise the promise of being with such commissioned persons to the end of the world, would have been in vain, and of no necessity. And if it were not designed by the institution, that baptising should be performed to the end of the world by a successor of the apostles, or his substitute, it might, for the very same reason, be said, that teaching was not designed

to be by such a successor to the end of the world ; and so the whole commission would be but temporary, and consequently the *ministers* of Christ, and *baptising* and *teaching*, would be but temporary ; and Christ's promise of being with His apostles, in these their ministrations, to the end of the world, would have been made without any design of fulfilling it : which is a blasphemous contradiction to the infallible veracity of our blessed Lord ; and therefore as long as the world shall last, there must be baptising, and as long as there shall be baptising, there must be such a one to perform it as Christ has promised to be with, viz. a successor to the apostles, or his substitute, to the utmost bounds of that duration.

For it is very remarkable that Christ does not here say, Lo, I am with baptising ; Lo, I am with teaching alway, &c. : but, *Go ye, baptising, teaching*; and *lo, I am with you*. The promise of His presence and concurrence is to be with *them* ; not with the acts separate from them, but with *them* performing and doing those acts ; and because it is to be with them baptising *alway even to the end of the world*, and because their particular persons were not to continue here so long, therefore *they* are necessarily *to be* in some other respect alway, &c. And this can be no otherwise than by succession ; and then the succession must be such as that it may be justly called *them*, otherwise those to whom the promise was made will in all respects cease to be, and consequently the promise itself will be of no effect : which

is absurd. This succession, then, must be such as that the apostles must remain to the end of the world ; and that can be by no other way than one of these two ; either first, by God Himself miraculously interposing always to appoint their successors, which He has no where promised to do, and therefore this is not to be expected ; or secondly, by the apostles continuing themselves in a succession by some act of their own, viz. by a spiritual generation of such as may in one respect or other be themselves ; that is, by their ordaining such as they were, and vesting them, some with the whole ordinary apostolic authority, and others with part thereof ; to the intent that all who act in the sacred function of baptising, whether in a higher or lower degree, may be justly entitled to have this promise verified and made good with respect to their act, *Lo, I am with you (baptising) alway* : for if he who baptises be not one of the *you*, an apostle or sent of Christ, in a higher or lower degree, to whom the promise was made, his act can claim no right to the promise, and therefore will be a contradiction to this sacred institution. So that it must necessarily follow, that this institution requires baptism always to be administered by one vested with apostolic authority, either in whole or in part, to the end of the world.

This will further appear from the nature of a commission, which is exclusive of all others but those to whom it is given ; for it is well known, that when a prince gives a commission to any of his subjects

for the executing of some great office, it is with design to appropriate that office to that particular subject, that none may act in it but he, and those whom he shall authorise. So here, the commission of baptising, &c. given by our Saviour to His apostles and their successors, &c. to the end of the world, is exclusive of all others; and consequently none can act therein to the purposes for which the commission was given, but they and such as they shall authorise for that purpose; and therefore it necessarily follows, that the administrator of baptism must have the divine commission or authority, before he presume to act in this so appropriate an office and ministration.

Once more: the words of institution are a peremptory command of our blessed Lord, requiring His apostles and their successors, and such as are or shall be ordained by them, expressly to disciple all nations, baptising them. His command is express and positive, *Go ye, baptising.* They are constantly bound, therefore, to disciple, by baptising all who are capable, and have not yet been baptised by *them*; I say, they are obliged by this command, when it is in their power, to baptise all such persons, because the command is laid upon them, and no other; so that if at any time a capable person offers himself, or is offered, to any of them to be received into the Church by his baptising of him, (supposing that person never to have been before so received by one of them into the Church,) the proper minister of Christ refusing so to

receive him, will, by such refusal, necessarily give us to understand, either that he disregards the express command of our Saviour, which is a sin against this institution; or else, that the institution does not command him, or any other minister of Christ, to perform this office to all capable persons who have not been so initiated by some one or other of them; which is a contradiction to this express command, because it will always hold true concerning a person so refused, that the ministers of Christ were commanded to disciple him, baptising him, and yet not one of them has ever so disciplined him. They were commanded to do this, and not one of them has done it; which, if such refusal be right, is making the command to be of none effect, and so destroys the obligation of the institution itself, because none else are commanded thereby to perform this sacred office, and consequently none else have any duty incumbent upon them, but the direct contrary, as we shall see by and by, for that purpose; and therefore, by reason of our Saviour's command, the divine authority of the administrator is an essential part of the institution of baptism.

But the form of administering baptism—in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost—being essential for even the validity thereof, is an invincible argument for the divine authority of the administrator, that it should be also an essential part of this institution; because, as often as any one administers baptism truly and really in the name of

the Trinity, so often he expressly affirms, and that truly too, that he does it by virtue of that power and authority which he received from the Trinity for so doing. This will be evident beyond contradiction, when we impartially inquire into the just meaning and common acceptation of the expression, “in the name of,” when used by one who acts for another; which, we shall constantly find, signifies, that he who comes and does any thing in another’s name, does it by his power and authority who sent him. Thus, *Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord* (Psal. cxviii. 26), is the same as, Blessed be he whom the Lord hath sent, or who comes with the authority and commission which the Lord hath given him. So, when David’s young men came, *they spake to Nabal according to all those words, in the name of David* (1 Sam. xxv. 9); it is no more than if it had been said, they spake to Nabal according to all those words, and made use of David’s name to let Nabal know that he sent them. Thus, again, *Haggai the prophet, &c. prophesied unto the Jews in the name of the God of Israel* (Ezra v. 1); what is this but to say that Haggai prophesied what God had sent and ordered him to prophesy to them? When our Saviour says, *I am come in My Father’s name* (John v. 43), He plainly declares that He was sent by His Father, or came by His particular appointment. Again, when our blessed Lord affirms, *The works that I do in My Father’s name, they bear witness of Me* (John x. 25), He in plain terms asserts that He did those works by

virtue of that power and authority which He had received from His Father. And, lastly, to name no more texts to this purpose, when St. Paul says, *I have judged already . . . in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . to deliver such an one* (*i.e.* the incestuous Corinthian) *unto Satan*, &c. (1 Cor. v. 3-5), he plainly asserts, that it is by authority received from our Lord Jesus Christ, that he adjudged and determined that sinner to be excommunicated. So, when a magistrate declares that he acts in the name of his prince, every one immediately understands thereby, that he acts by the authority which he received from him. But this is too plain to want more examples; and therefore we may justly conclude, that every time the minister says, “I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,” it is the same as to say, I baptise thee by virtue of that authority and commission which I have received from the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and therefore, when he baptises a person, and pronounces the words, “In the name of the Father,” &c., if he be one who is not vested with the divine authority, he cannot be truly said to baptise in the name of the Trinity; for it is a perfect contradiction to say such a thing is truly done in the name of another, when really it is not done in his name, or by his authority and commission, which is the only intelligible way of doing something in another’s name.

Thus we see how our Lord has inseparably united the divine authority of the administrator with the

truth and reality of the form of administration, insomuch that the form itself is no further true, as to the design thereof, than as it is attended with the truth and reality of the divine commission given to him who administers; so that whensoever this form is truly used according to the intent of this institution, the divine authority and commission of him who administers is necessarily and constantly implied and supposed.

And really, if we examine into all the divine positive institutions that ever were made, we shall find none of them so indispensably require the divine authority of the administrator, and attended with such a solemn form of asserting and declaring his authority every time of administration, as we find in the divine positive institution of Christian baptism, which enjoins this form in the name (or by the authority) of the Trinity, to be constantly observed and used to the end of the world; and consequently, the divine authority of the administrator of baptism is an essential part of that great institution.

But here I expect some will tell me that I lay too much stress upon the form of administering baptism in the name of the Trinity; because in the Greek it is said, *Go ye, &c., baptising them “into [εἰς] the name,” instead of “in the name,” of the Father, &c.* And though “in the name” signifies by the authority and commission of the Trinity, yet “into the name” does not signify so, but rather into the belief and service of the Trinity; which does not imply so neces-

sarily the divine authority of the administrator as I plead for.

To whom I answer, that though the Greek does signify “into the name,” yet it does not therefore follow that this is the only sense of the word in the original language wherein St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, which the best critics affirm was Hebrew, or Syro-Chaldaic, the language of the Jews in our Saviour’s time, whereof the Greek is but a translation. It is certain that the universal Church of Christ has in all ages retained, and constantly practised, the form, in the name of the Trinity; and all ancient and modern translations from the Greek itself have inserted in the text of the institution “in the name,” rather than “into the name;” which plainly intimates that the former is the most genuine sense of St. Matthew’s original word, and consequently sufficiently authorises me to lay so great a stress upon the usual form of administering baptism “in the name” of the Trinity: which necessarily supposes the administrator thereof to be vested with the divine power and commission; wherein I am the more confirmed by the twenty-sixth article of the Church of England, which expressly affirms, that the administrator does minister by “Christ’s commission and authority.”

Dr. Hammond¹ indeed, in his *Practical Catechism*, book vi. § 2. mentions the Greek “into the name;” but

[¹ Works, vol. i. p. 115.]

then he applies it only to the part of the person baptised, and says that it signifies, “that he devotes and delivers himself up to be ruled, as an obedient servant, by the directions of this great Master, a willing disciple of this blessed Trinity.” But this is nothing to our present purpose, which is only to inquire, what the form of administration signifies on the minister’s part. And this the same author tells us, in the forecited place, viz. “That the words, ‘I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,’ being prescribed by Christ to His disciples (*i. e.* apostles) must indispensably be used by all in the administration; and the meaning of them on the minister’s part is, that what he doth, he doth not of himself, but *in the name* or power of, or by commission from, the blessed Trinity.”

Nay, though the minister in baptising should say, “I baptise thee into the name of the Father,” &c., which would be contrary to the universal form, yet even then he would thereby assert the divine commission by which he acted; because, on his part, baptising the person into the name must signify, that by that action he admits him into the service of the blessed Trinity; which being a service of infinite benefit, and attended with inestimable supernatural rewards to the person admitted, must necessarily suppose the person admitting to be vested with a particular power and supernatural authority for so great a purpose; because no natural power or authority is

sufficient to confer any the least supernatural benefit or advantage. But this truth will be further confirmed by the arguments that may be drawn,

IV. From the design and benefits of Christian baptism. For by the words of institution it is plain, that the design thereof is to disciple all nations (St. Matt. xxviii.); or, which is the same thing, to enter them into the Church of Christ; which in several places of sacred Scripture is called the kingdom of God, and the kingdom of heaven. Now it is evident to whom our Saviour gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, viz. to His apostles expressly, and in them to their successors; and consequently, that He gave to them, and those only whom they should authorise, the supernatural power of admitting persons into the Church by baptism, which is the only rite of initiation into this sacred society.

One of the great privileges of true Christian baptism is, that it is for the forgiveness of sins: this is a supernatural benefit; and therefore it may be justly asked, who can forgive sins but God only? And if none can, then certainly no man can assume to himself the power of conveying this forgiveness of sins to others by the means of baptism, except he be endowed for that purpose with power from on high, even from God Himself. And if any should, without the divine commission, suppose himself to have this power, it is plain that his ministrations must be ineffectual for so great a purpose, because he is destitute of the divine character: he does not truly per-

sonate God, the bestower of this great privilege, but runs without being sent ; and God has not any where, either by promise or covenant, obliged Himself to ratify and confirm the precipitate acts and usurped administrations of such rash and presumptuous undertakers. But we know to whom our Lord gave this authority, viz. to His apostles, and therefore will confirm their acts, when He said, *Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them*;¹ and therefore they only, and such as they appoint, can mediate remit sins by Christian baptism.

Another great privilege of Christian baptism is, that those who receive it are thereby entitled to all the unspeakable advantages of free denizens of heaven, notwithstanding that before they were *aliens* and *strangers*,² and therefore had no claim, nor any right or title, to this freedom. Now let any man but seriously reflect, how unreasonable it would be for a stranger and foreigner in any state or kingdom to imagine that every, even natural subjects there, could have authority to grant him a valid naturalisation, and thereby endow him with all the rights and immunities which the free-born subjects of that state or kingdom do enjoy; would it not be ridiculous for him to accept, knowingly, of such a pretended naturalisation ? And if he should, can it be thought reasonable that he should enjoy all the advantages annexed to a true and lawful naturalisation, to be received from

[¹ John xx. 23.]

[² Eph. ii. 19.]

the hands of those only who are authorised for that purpose? Certainly no; never a well-regulated state or kingdom in the world, that has laws for naturalising strangers, would allow it: and shall it then be once thought that every subject, of how mean a station so ever he be in this spiritual kingdom of God, can have authority to entitle strangers to all the supernatural advantages which are consequent to a legal and valid naturalisation?

And, indeed, all the benefits and privileges of true Christian baptism are so great and many, that it would be endless to recount them. Let it suffice to say, that it is a sign, a seal, a means of conveyance, and a pledge to assure us of these supernatural advantages, viz. of being incorporated into the household, and thereby made members of Christ, children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of heaven, and of all the unspeakable happinesses thereof, which *eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man to conceive.*¹

Now, if any reasonable unprejudiced man will but duly reflect on these so inconceivable and inestimable privileges, so infinitely above all the powers of nature either to obtain or bestow without some supernatural donation, it will be very difficult, nay, I may say impossible, for him to believe that God, Who is the God of order and not of confusion, will bestow them by the mediation of those to whom He has given no authority for that purpose; especially when he re-

[¹ 1 Cor. ii. 9.]

members that God has set apart a peculiar order of men to be the stewards of these His mysteries, and to whom He has given the power of the keys, whereby to admit into and exclude out of His spiritual kingdom, as the sacred Scriptures do sufficiently inform us. These men He has dignified with extraordinary marks and signal character of honour, and separated them from the rest of mankind, that they might represent His sacred presence among us, and that we might have a strong confidence and well-grounded assurance of their divine mission, and of our own happiness in being admitted through baptism into the number and privileges of His children by their authorised ministrations.

For the baptism wherewith they initiate us into Christ's spiritual kingdom is not theirs, but *His*; it is He that baptises us by their ministry. His Father sent Him to be the *one Mediator between God and men*;¹ as such, He sent His apostles and their successors to be His representatives, to perform acts of mediation between God and man in His stead and by His authority, that so they might be *His own acts*, and become therefore acceptable to His Father for our spiritual benefit and advantage. For says He to these same apostles whom He authorised to baptise, *As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you: lo, I am with you always*; thereby making them to personate Himself; that He, though in heaven, might visibly here on earth mediate for us Himself by their minis-

[¹ 1 Tim. ii. 5.]

try, which is *Himself*, because they act by His authority, being sent by Him. Without Him no ministrations in our behalf can be acceptable to His Father; for, says He, *no man cometh unto the Father but by Me* (John xiv. 6); *for without Me ye can do nothing* (John xv. 5). Hence we find why the Scripture says that *Jesus made and baptised disciples* (John iii. 22, iv. 1), because He did it by those whom He had sent for that purpose; for (ver. 2) *Jesus Himself* (*i. e.* in His own person) *baptised not, but His disciples*. He baptised, but it was by them, vested with His authority, and thereby it became His own act: even so that baptism might always be justly interpreted to be done by Him, Who is the only proper Mediator, and Whose mediatorial acts alone are, as such, acceptable to His Father in our behalf. He vested His apostles and their successors, and such as are ordained by them, with *His own authority* to baptise to the end of the world, that they might personate Him in this act of mediation, and that consequently *He* might continue to make and baptise disciples by their ministry, which He cannot be said to do by the act of one whom He never sent. For which reason, added to those others I have brought under this fourth head, we may truly say that the divine authority of him who administers baptism is an essential part of that holy institution. But this is confirmed also,

V. By the constant practice of those who truly are, and of others who pretend to be, the lawful ministers of the Christian Church.

The lawful ministers in all ages have claimed the authority of baptising, even from the time of our Saviour's first giving the commission to His eleven apostles unto this day; and for this very reason, because they derived their ministerial power and authority from Christ. But if the divine authority of the administrator of baptism were not an essential part of that institution, their claim would have been unjust when founded upon their divine right; and so every man would have had as much authority to baptise as they: but forasmuch as they were never accused of injustice for making this claim (except by such wretches as the author of *The Rights, &c.*,¹ who would confound all order in the Christian Church), and since all sober Christians, who know their duty, never laid claim to this authority, it necessarily follows that the lawful minister's claim is good, and consequently that the divine authority of him who administers is an essential part of baptism.

As for those who pretend to be, but are not, the lawful ministers of Christ, it is well known that they plead for the authority of baptising upon this very score, that they esteem their ministerial commission to be of divine right, and therefore will never suffer their common people to administer baptism. From whence it follows that they also in practice confirm this assertion of the divine authority of the administrator of baptism; otherwise their claiming the power

[¹ "The Rights of the Christian Church asserted." Tindal the Deist.]

of baptising, by virtue of the supposed divine right of their mission, would be a mere foolery, and indeed a contradiction.

So that the lawful minister's claiming the authority of baptising, because his mission is truly of divine right, and the unlawful minister's claiming the same authority, because he esteems his mission also to be of divine right, do both conspire by their practice to confirm this truth,—that the divine authority of the administrator of baptism is an essential part of that holy institution : and this is not a little corroborated,

VI. and lastly. From the doctrine and practice of the Church of England.

For in her twenty-third article of religion, she affirms that “it is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of ministering the sacraments, &c., before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same.” Now what can this article mean by “it is not lawful?” Certainly nothing else but that it is sinful, or contrary to the divine law in the holy Scripture ; for she is not treating of civil but spiritual things. But against what law in the sacred Scriptures is this a sin? Surely against that law which treats of these sacraments ; and this law is principally in the institution of them : so that the plain meaning of this article must be, that it is contrary to the very institution of the sacraments for any man to take upon him “the office of administering them, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same.”

And in her twenty-sixth article she teaches, “that the administrators of the sacraments do not minister in their own name, but in Christ’s, and by His commission and authority.”

And lest every one who has acquired, though not justly, the reputation of being such a lawful minister, should fancy himself to have Christ’s commission, because the people made choice of him, and some others of higher rank among them took upon them to ordain him, separate from and independent of the bishop :

In the preface to her form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons, she tells us thus : “ It is evident unto all men diligently reading holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the apostles’ time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ’s Church, bishops, priests, and deacons. Which offices were evermore had in such reverend estimation, that no man might presume to execute any of them, except he, by public prayer, with imposition of hands, were approved and admitted thereunto by lawful authority.” And what she means by this lawful authority is plain by the words immediately following : “ And therefore, &c., no man shall be accounted or taken to be a lawful bishop, priest, or deacon, in the united Church of England and Ireland, or suffered to execute any of the said functions, except he be called, &c., thereunto according to the form hereafter following, *or hath had formerly episcopal consecration or ordina-*

tion." Whereby she confines the lawful authority so evidently to episcopacy, that a man must be wilfully blind who dares to deny it.

All which put together sufficiently proves, that by the doctrine of this Church the divine authority of the administrator of Christian sacraments is an essential part of their institution; and consequently that the divine authority of the administrator of baptism, which is one of those sacraments, must be also an essential part of that holy institution.

So likewise by her practice she confirms this truth; for in her office of ordering of priests, the bishop says to the priest, “Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained. And be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God and of His holy sacraments, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.” And delivering to the priest kneeling the Bible into his hand, the bishop adds, “Take thou *authority* to preach the word of God, and to minister the holy sacraments.” By all which it is plain, that she reckons the administration of the sacraments to be essential to the office of the priest; and that he must have commission, even from the holy Trinity, by the mediation of the bishop conveyed to him, to qualify and authorise him to administer the same. And in conformity to this her rule of practice, when

any person, though formerly a teacher, and one who has assumed to himself before the power of baptising and administering the Lord's supper, notwithstanding his having continued even in the tolerated practice of these usurpations for many years together; nay, though chosen thereto by the consent of the people, who submitted to and acknowledged all such his ministrations to be valid and good,—when such a man, I say, forsakes his heresies or schisms, and returns, or desires to be united to her communion, and to be reckoned in the number, and to have license to act as one of her lawful ministers, she will not allow him such a license: he must be received only to lay communion, if he was never before divinely authorised by imposition of episcopal hands, and now refuses to accept such Catholic ordination. She thereby declares that he wants the divine commission to act in such holy ministrations, and that she will not acquiesce with his former usurpations; he must disclaim and renounce them now, if in her communion he would be allowed to officiate in the word and sacraments as the rest of her ministers do. But why all this, if his power and authority had been sufficient before for the purposes of the holy sacraments? If his commission was good then, it is so now, and it is needless to re-ordain him; but if it was invalid, she acts consistently with herself in refusing to admit him among her ministers, *to whom alone* she gives authority for these great purposes. And really it ought not to be dissembled, that if such a man's

administrations of the sacraments were before agreeable to, and not breaches of, their institution, his ministry before was also valid, and therefore it would be even unjust to require him to take up a new commission, and from *another sort* of authority than what he had received it from at first ; because the design of handing down Christ's commission to ministers in all ages is, that there may be constantly such persons to administer the holy sacraments, as He in the first institution of those sacraments did authorise and require. But forasmuch as the Church of England requires such persons as above mentioned to receive the divine authority, which she reckons they wanted before, to qualify them for the administration of sacraments, it is plain that this her practice discourages us to hope that, without the divine authority, they are qualified for such ministrations, and consequently confirms us in this, that the divine commission of the administrator is an essential part of the institution of a sacrament. Nay, so very cautious is she not to allow the contrary, that she makes not so much as any exception for cases of absolute necessity ; no, not though an unbaptised person were giving up the ghost, she has not declared that any one may baptise him but the minister of the parish, or, in his absence, any other lawful minister that can be procured,—as in her office for private baptism, which is the only office she has provided for cases of necessity : and what she means in the rubric thereof by “lawful minister” is easily determined by her twenty-

sixth article of religion, viz. “ one who ministers in Christ’s name, and by His commission and authority.”

But of this I have treated more largely in my book of *Dissenters’ Baptisms null and void by the Articles, Canons, and Rubrics of the Church of England.*¹ To which give me leave to add here, that in her offices for public baptism she requires the *priest* to address to God in behalf of the baptised thus : “ Grant that whosoever is here,” as in the office for infants ; or, “ that they being here,” as in the office for those of riper years, “ *dedicated* to Thee by *our office and ministry*, may also be endued with heavenly virtues,” &c. This dedication of persons to God by baptism is plainly asserted here by the Church to be by the office of those who, in her twenty-sixth article, she says “ minister in Christ’s name, and by His commission and authority ;” plainly connecting the divine authority of the administrator of baptism with the baptism itself ; and so closely, too, that she no where, in any of her public acts, gives us the least encouragement to think that this dedication can be by any other ; and therefore what God and His Church have so joined together, let no man put asunder.

And now to sum up all that has been said under these six heads.

1. Forasmuch as God under the Mosaic dispensa-

[¹ *Dissenters’* and other unauthorised Baptisms null and void, &c. In answer to a pamphlet called “ The Judgment of the Church,” &c. [by Bishop Fleetwood. See Editor’s Preface.] 1712.]

tion, which was but the forerunner of the Christian, made the divine authority of the administrator an essential part of His then positive institutions, insomuch as not to accept of the performance of the latter without the former : 2. Forasmuch as Christ Himself, notwithstanding His own personal excellencies and perfections, and the pressing necessities of the whole world, which stood in need of His ministrations, would not leave His private station to take upon Him so great an office till duly authorised by the divine external commission : 3. Forasmuch as, in the words of the institution of baptism, our Lord commissioned no other than His eleven apostles, and their successors and substitutes, to baptise to the end of the world : 4. Forasmuch as their commission, as all others are, is exclusive of all but those to whom it was given ; and the very form of administration of baptism, in the name or by the authority of the Trinity, requires, and necessarily supposes and implies, the divine authority of him who administers : 5. Forasmuch as the words of institution are an express command to the apostles, and their successors and substitutes, to baptise all capable persons who have not been baptised by them : 6. Forasmuch as the benefits of baptism are so great and *supernatural*, that none can give or convey them by baptism but such as God has appointed : 7. Forasmuch as Christ Himself baptises us by the ministry of those whom He has sent for that purpose ; and we cannot be said to be baptised by Him, when it is done by one

whom He never sent : 8. Forasmuch as all who call themselves the divinely authorised ministers of the Christian Church have in all ages claimed the power of baptising upon the account of their divine commission : and lastly, Forasmuch as the Church of England, by her doctrine and practice, gives sufficient ground to believe that none can administer sacraments but those who are divinely authorised for that purpose ; and that to pretend to do so is contrary even to the very institution of the Christian sacraments ;—seeing all these premises are true, and not to be denied without running into unavoidable inconsistencies and contradictions, it must necessarily be granted that the divine authority of the administrator of baptism is an essential part of that holy institution, to be observed as often and as long as baptism shall be necessary to be administered, even to the end of the world.

Prop. II. That every essential part of Christian baptism, viz. the divine authority of the administrator, the water, and the form of administration in the name of the Trinity, is of equal obligation and necessity to us.

Demonst. This will follow from the first proposition of the Introduction, which I shall apply to this divine positive institution ; for the very nature of this institution is such, that it had no intrinsic excellency or moral virtue, either in the person baptising, or in the water, or in the form of words wherewith baptism is given, to bind or oblige us to observe the same,

till the divine command laid that necessity upon us, as indeed we find it did; so that now we are obliged to observe this institution purely and only by virtue of this divine command, which—forasmuch as it extends itself to every one of the said essential parts thereof, as has been proved in the preceding proposition, wherein it was demonstrated that the divine authority of the administrator of baptism is an essential part thereof, as well as the water and the form—will make them all of equal authority, and consequently of equal necessity and obligation to us; because the divine authority of the administrator, the water, and the form of administration, are every one of them distinctly of the same nature, *i. e.* but mere positive institutes, as the whole institution itself. And, again, being all essential parts, or such as are constantly to be observed as long as the ordinance of baptism shall be obliging, it is evident, that for the same reason as one part may be omitted, another may be so likewise, and consequently that every one of them is upon all accounts whatsoever of equal obligation and necessity to us.—Q. E. D.

Corol. Hence it follows, that as no human authority can dispense with the whole institution of baptism, where it is binding and obliging (axiom 3), so neither can they dispense with the omission of either water, or the form of administration in the name of the Trinity, or the divine mission of him who administers. Nor can any such authority determine that one of these essential parts of the adminis-

tration of baptism is more excellent than another, because they have every one distinctly the same authority commanding, from which alone they receive their whole force and efficacy, and are only by virtue of that one authority made equally necessary and binding to us.

Prop. III. Whosoever affirms baptism to be wholly null and invalid, by reason of the omission either of water or of the form of administering in the name of the Trinity, ought also, for the same reason, to acknowledge that baptism is as much null and invalid when it wants only the divine authority or commission of the administrator.

Demonst. This will follow from the second proposition of the Introduction.

For the only reason why the omission of either water or the form makes such a baptism void, must be because such omission is unlawful, or contrary to the institution of baptism (axiom 4). So that he must affirm such baptism null, because it is administered either with such matter or form as the institution has not appointed, or because it is not administered with such matter or form as the institution requires. Now, forasmuch as Christ, who appointed the water and the form, appointed also the person who should administer both the one and the other, and since the divine authority of this administrator is an essential part, and as much obliging and necessary as water and the form, those two other essential parts of the institution, by the first and second propositions,—it must

necessarily follow, that the want of divine authority in him who administers is equally a breach of, or contrary to, the said institution; and therefore, if the want of water or the form makes any baptism to be wholly null and void, because contrary to the institution, the want also of only the divine commission in the administrator must, for the same reason, make that baptism so ministered to be wholly invalid and of no effect, being equally contrary to the same institution. And consequently whosoever affirms baptism to be wholly null and invalid, by reason of the omission either of water or the form, ought also, for the same reason, to acknowledge that baptism is as much null and invalid when it wants only the divine authority or commission of the administrator.—Q. E. D.

Corol. From this proposition it undoubtedly follows, that the invalidity of such baptisms as are administered by unauthorised persons cannot be partial, but entire; for if baptism be wholly void for want of water, or the form of administering in the name of the Trinity, as the whole Church of Christ has constantly and with great reason affirmed, it must be also by this last proposition, as entirely, and consequently not partially, invalid, for want of only the divine mission of the administrator; and all this by reason of the equal authority and necessity of every one of these essential parts.

I mention this, that there cannot be any partial invalidity, but it must be whole and entire; because I have heard from some, that the want of the divine

mission of the administrator of baptism makes such a baptism but partially invalid ; and that, provided the person is baptised by such a one with water, and pronouncing of “in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,” imposition of the bishop’s hand¹ is sufficient to supply the other defect, and consequently to make such baptism as valid as it would have been if administered by one divinely authorised, that is, wholly and entirely valid. But that this cannot be, is evident by the above-mentioned corollary, wherein it is plainly demonstrated, that if in this case there be any invalidity at all, it cannot be partial, but entire. And as for the virtue of such imposition of hands, it is utterly contrary to axiom 5, which is a *first principle*; viz. that no power or authority on earth can, by any after-act not appointed by God for that purpose, make that which before was invalid to become as valid as conforming to the divine institution itself would have made it. So that, if by imposition of hands they would make such imperfect or invalid baptisms to be as valid as the perfect ones performed according to the institution, it lies upon them to demonstrate that such imposition of hands was appointed by God Himself, either in some law, or by the practice of the holy apostles, for such a purpose; but this I despair of ever seeing them do, because the sacred oracles give us not the least encouragement, either in plain words, or by good inferences to be drawn from such as are

[¹ in Confirmation.]

not so plain, to believe that this rite of the imposition of hands, with respect to baptised persons, was ever ordained but to be performed on those only who were before truly and validly baptised. There is not one example of the apostles using this ceremony to make up such defects of baptism, nor any thing like it; and if, in after-ages, some used this ordinance for that purpose, as it is asserted, though upon what good evidence I know not, that they did, they seem thereby to have dispensed with a divine positive institution, at the same time that it was binding and obliging; which was taking to themselves an authority that did not at all belong to them, by axiom 3: I say, they dispensed with a divine positive institution when it was binding and obliging, because they allowed of the omission of the divine authority of the administrator of baptism, which might have been had, and was therefore binding and obliging, at the same time as they gave imposition of hands to such invalidly baptised persons, who might, instead thereof, have been then baptised by themselves or their substitutes, who were vested with the divine authority for that purpose.

As for the Church of England, she gives us not the least intimation of any efficacy in the imposition of the bishop's hands,¹ to give validity to such baptisms as are supposed to be partly invalid before, for her office of confirmation is made only for persons validly baptised; and if they are not so, the use of

[¹ pp. 107, 108.]

that office upon their account will be a perfect contradiction, because the prayer of the bishop, before he blesses by imposition of his hands, asserts “that God has regenerated the person by water and the Holy Ghost; and has given unto him forgiveness of all his sins;” which takes in the whole benefit of valid baptism, and therefore cannot be said, with any sense, over a person whose baptism is supposed to be but partly valid, and consequently to convey but part of the benefits of true baptism. So little has she provided for any method of giving validity to partly invalid baptisms.

We have some among us who say, “that the ancient Churches, when they found that persons had been baptised in or with water, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, though by lay persons, or heretics, or schismatics, they refused to give such persons catholic baptism at the hands of those who were duly authorised by the divine commission; because they reckoned any baptism with water in the name of the Trinity, by whomsoever administered, to be that one baptism which ought not to be repeated. But yet, at the same time, they esteemed such a baptism in some measure invalid, till it was perfected, or rather mended, by imposition of the bishop’s hands.” And for this they bring the council of Eliberis, A.D. 305. can. 38. (See Prelim. Discourse.) And because that council required the lay-baptised person to be presented to the bishop, to be *perfected* by imposition of hands, thence

they conclude, that there was a partial invalidity in the baptism before, but that it was made wholly valid by imposition of hands.

But this is only *gratis dictum*: for the primitive Church, when she refused to give such a second washing, refused it upon this account, that she esteemed the baptism before to be the one valid baptism; and the imposition of hands enjoined by her was no other than that which was used either at the confirmation of all other validly baptised persons, or else at the restoring of returning penitents, and to the same ends and purposes—not with any design to give an essential and total validity to that act of baptism, which had an essential invalidity before. And this is what is meant by *perfected* in the council of Eliberis, viz. that the baptised person should be confirmed by the bishop, as all other baptised Christians used to be; because all valid baptisms were reckoned by the Church to be consummated and finished by confirmation, or imposition of the bishop's hands, which in those days was immediately performed after baptism, or as soon after as possibly could be.

For these gentlemen to say that the ancients reckoned any baptism with water in the name of the Trinity, by whomsoever administered, to be that one baptism which ought not to be repeated, is a great mistake; for the Cyprianists and the Eastern Churches affirmed and practised otherwise; and particularly in the baptism of the Montanists, who, though they were washed in or with water in the name of the Trinity,

were not admitted into the Church without a second baptism. And St. Basil, St. Chrysostom, and the Catholics after the Nicene council, condemn the baptism of laymen as null and void, though they were done with water in the name of the Trinity; and so do the Apostolic Canons the baptism of heretics, as is plain by the instances in my Preliminary Discourse. But to tell us that the primitives called such heretical and schismatical baptisms as were not repeated, and such lay baptisms as she had by canon allowed, partly invalid, and that she made them totally valid by imposition of the bishop's hands, is to impose upon us very great inconsistencies. For if, as we all agree, there be but one baptism, it must certainly be that which has no invalidity, being administered exactly according to the essentials of the institution; and therefore those other baptisms which are not so administered, and are therefore confessedly imperfect and partly invalid, must be of another kind, distinct from that one true baptism: and this will introduce two sorts of baptisms in the Christian Church; which is utterly contrary to their own assertion, as well as that of the holy Scripture, which acknowledges no more than one baptism for the remission of sins; and consequently these imperfect baptisms are no baptisms at all, and so are entirely void and of no effect. And, indeed, to allow the contrary, is in effect to destroy the whole ministry of the Christian priesthood, and to open a door of licentiousness to all intruders into that sacred office, and thereby put every man

upon a level; insomuch that at last all may set up for themselves, and refuse to give any regard or attention, any deference or respect, to our blessed Lord and Master, in the person of His authorised ambassadors and ministers; for where will the conclusion end, if every man may be supposed capable of giving valid baptism? Will they not argue,—what need we attend upon others for these ministrations, when we have as much valid power therein as themselves? If our baptisms are valid, so may our administrations of the Lord's supper, and much more our preaching to and teaching such people as we can gather to ourselves. If validity may be allowed to all these, by whomsoever administered, then farewell all rule and order in the Church; and Christ's setting some therein, “first, apostles; secondarily, prophets,”¹ &c., “for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry;”² and His promising “to be with them to the end of the world,”³ was to no purpose. And it will not serve to say, that such men will be guilty of sin in those usurpations, except we say also that their authoritative acts of ministering, in what they call the holy sacraments, are sins too, and consequently contrary to the institution of the real sacraments, and therefore of no effect to convey the supernatural graces and benefits annexed to them: for if ever men can be once persuaded that any unauthorised person can, by means of the mere *opus operatum*

[¹ 1 Cor. xii. 28.]

[² Eph. iv. 12.]

[³ Matt. xxviii. 20.]

of what they call sacraments, convey those unspeakable advantages which are annexed to real sacraments, it will be in vain *for you true ministers* to tell them of the sin of usurping the sacred office, when you in effect assure them, that every Christian can validly exercise it; and as fruitless will it be to preach to them the danger of schism, or causeless separation from the Church, when you, by allowing the validity of their uncommissioned teachers' ministrations of supposed sacraments, give them an argument to confound all that you shall say for their conviction, by your affirming that their pretended sacraments are as true and effectual as your authorised administrations; and that (since they thereby receive as much spiritual benefit as others do by yours, because God as much concurs with such their sacraments as with those ministered by you) your charging them with schism in adhering to ministers who have no divine mission, is ridiculous and nonsenical; because they have *all* as valid a commission as your own, which you yourselves must needs grant, by allowing the validity of their supposed sacraments. Nay, further, if it be allowed that such their sacraments are valid, then any excommunicated person—though never authorised by a divine commission—if he can but gather a congregation to himself, may set up for a valid minister; and even they who know this may receive valid sacraments at his hands, if the want of a divine mission in the administrator does not invalidate the sacraments:—which is a consequence so horrid, and

attended with such infinite confusions, that it should make sober Christians even tremble to think of it. And this brings me to my last proposition, viz.

Prop. IV. That he who knows himself to have been invalidly baptised by one who never had the *divine commission*, can have no just grounds to expect the supernatural graces and benefits annexed to the one true Christian baptism, till he has done his utmost for the obtaining of them, by endeavouring to procure that one baptism from the hands of a divinely authorised minister.

Demonst. For, however God may dispense with the *want* of this sacrament (axiom 2) to those who know nothing of it; such as infants, or others who think they have received it, though they have not, and would receive it, if they could be persuaded that they had not; or lastly, those who know that they never received it, and are heartily desirous of it, but cannot possibly attain it,—yet, as he who knows to do good, and does it not, to him it is sin (axiom 6), so he who *knows* that he ought to be baptised by a minister vested with the *divine authority* for that purpose, and *neglects* to be so baptised, incurs the guilt of sin; and consequently, while he continues in that guilt, can (by axiom 6) expect none of the supernatural benefits annexed to the due performance of his neglected duty of receiving such valid baptism. This is so clear and evident that there is no need to enlarge upon it: only I would further add, that if he knows himself to be invalidly baptised by one who

never had the divine commission, and who notwithstanding presumed to baptise him, in opposition to, and rebellion against, those who were truly authorised for that purpose,—his acquiescing with such a baptism will be an addition to his sin ; because he thereby makes himself a *partner* in the other's *rebellion*, and strengthens him and his adherents in their wickedness of opposing Christ's lawful ministers, concerning whom our blessed Lord has positively affirmed, that *he that despiseth them despiseth Him, and he that despiseth Him despiseth Him that sent Him.*¹ And what greater contempt can be offered to them, than to take part with such as oppose them in all the ministrations of that sacred office to which our Saviour has appointed them ? This should make us exceeding careful not to concur with such men in their usurpations ; especially considering, that by this our concurrence we involve ourselves in the guilt of rebellion, even against God Himself ; the consequence of which must needs fall infinitely short of any the least advantage, and, on the contrary, bring upon us the severest of His wrath, instead of those supernatural graces and benefits which He has promised to those who duly obey His holy institutes.

As for those who do not, but yet may, know whether the baptism they have received be according to Christ's institution or no, and consequently valid or not valid ; it highly concerns them to make use of those faculties wherewith God has blessed them, that

[¹ Luke x. 16.]

they may not be deceived in so great an affair as this is. For wilful ignorance and carelessness in spiritual things will never excuse them at the day of judgment. Nor will it then serve their turns to plead that they followed the instructions and examples of their teachers; for our Lord, who is truth itself, has faithfully assured us, that, *if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch:*¹ and the unprofitable servant, who improved not his lord's talent, but hid it in a napkin, was for his sloth and idleness branded with the dreadful name of *wicked*, and cast into outer darkness; to teach us diligence in the most important things of another life. And what can be of greater importance to us, than to know whether we are truly initiated into the Christian Church, and thereby entitled to all those infinite benefits and privileges, those inestimable graces and blessings, which every member of the Church has a right and title to? Certainly it highly concerns us us to know the truth of our claim to such vast benefits, since our Saviour has told us, that *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God:*² he cannot be a member of that kingdom here in the Church militant, the only known ark of salvation from the wrath to come, nor in heaven hereafter, in the Church triumphant, if, through his carelessness and negligence, he has not been really initiated or entered thereinto by that one baptism which Christ has instituted, and commissioned His apostles, and them

[¹ Matt. xv. 14.][² John iii. 5.]

only, with their successors and their substitutes, to administer for that purpose to the end of the world.

And now, having gone through all that I designed to say about invalid baptism, I shall conclude with my answers to some few objections that may probably be started against this essay.

Objections answered.

Obj. I. Some may object, that though Christ bid His eleven apostles disciple the nations, baptising them, &c., yet He did not therefore confine baptism to them and their successors' ministration, so as that none can administer true baptism but they, and such only as they shall authorise ; for if He had, He would in express words have told us that no others should have authority to baptise but they.

Answer. It is universally granted that our Lord confined the matter of baptism to water, and the form to “in the name of the Trinity,” merely by His saying these words, *Baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.*¹ So that no other matter or form can be introduced for the administration of valid baptism, though Christ has not in express words forbidden us to introduce them. Even so, though He has no where said in express words, “that none but His apostles, and their successors, and such as they should appoint, might have this authority ;” yet I affirm, that He has

[¹ Matt. xxviii. 19.]

confined true Christian baptism to their ministration only ; because He has done as much as if He had said so in express and positive words : for He gave that commission *particularly* to them, and to no others, and promised constantly to concur with and support them in the exercise thereof, to the end of the world ; and He has made no such promise to lay baptisers : and this is as full and express, as His appointing no other matter than “water,” and no other form than “in the name of the Trinity ;” as is very evident to all who give themselves leave to think justly and adequately on the words of institution. Besides, this commission is of such great moment, that the apostles themselves could never have lawfully undertaken to minister in it, if Christ Himself had not particularly authorised them so to do ; because baptism is, by virtue only of Christ’s institution, made a means of conveying *supernatural benefits*, which they had no *natural right* to confer on any man by means thereof ; and they could acquire no *supernatural one* to do so, till Christ gave them that power by a particular designation, as we find He did in the very words of institution ; and therefore, since the apostles themselves could never have presumed to act in this great ministration without a particular divine commission, it being impossible for even them to administer baptism valid for supernatural ends and purposes without it ; it must needs follow, that no others can do so but by virtue of this, or some other new commission ; and if they have no new one, they

must do it by virtue of the old ; and consequently he who administers baptism valid for supernatural purposes (*and it is not Christian baptism if it be not thus valid*), must necessarily be vested with the divine commission, given at first to the eleven apostles, and by their successors conveyed down to him. And if so, then all others are excluded from any valid ministration hereof, because they are destitute of this divine commission, which was never once given to them for such a purpose.

Obj. II. Others may probably object, that at this rate I confine the efficacy of the sacraments, and particularly of baptism, wholly to the divine authority of the administrator ; and so, if the person who ministers has not been commissioned by Christ, he administers no real sacraments at all.

Ans. When the outward elements of the Christian sacraments are rightly administered according to all the essential parts of their institution, then, and then only, they become efficacious to the worthy receiver of them ; and this their efficacy proceeds only from God's concurrence with His promise, made to such due administration of them. So that in Christian baptism the efficacy depends no more upon the divine commission of him who administers, than upon the water and the form of administration ; but upon God's performing His promise, to bestow the supernatural graces thereof by the mediation of His own ministers applying the water in the name of the Trinity. And therefore, as the Church has con-

stantly affirmed that God does not give efficacy to water administered even by His own minister without the use of these words, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," because an essential part of the institution is omitted; so we have no reason from divine revelation, which is our *only guide* in this case, to believe that He will give efficacy to water administered with the pronouncing of the said form of words, when it is done by one who has not the divine commission for so doing; because this is also an omission of another equally essential part of the same institution, as, I humbly hope, I have sufficiently proved.

As to the latter part of this objection, viz. that if the person who ministers has not been commissioned by Christ, he administers no real sacraments at all; I readily acknowledge that my discourse does imply so much, and that the contrary ought upon no account whatsoever to be affirmed or believed; because the outward elements are not sacraments by themselves, nor made any ways efficacious for supernatural purposes, till administered as God has appointed in their institution; and when they are so administered, then they become sacraments, and are thereby made means of conveying, and also pledges to assure us of, the supernatural graces which God has annexed to such their administration. Now who does not see at first sight, that none can make any thing to be the means of conveying supernatural benefits and advantages, who have not the power and

authority of a supernatural commission ; — that no person can make that, which before had no such excellent quality, to become a pledge, or an earnest of assurance, that God will grant us such inestimable graces and privileges as nature could never have entitled us to, except he be first sent, and thereby authorised for that purpose, by Him who is to acknowledge the pledge as His own, and for the sake thereof is to perform all that was promised and implied by the giving and receiving of it ?

As, for instance,

In Christian baptism, water, the outward element, is no Christian sacrament till applied as the institution of baptism requires, and then, and then only, it is a means of conveying, and a pledge to assure us of the mystical washing away of sin ; and how shall we rest satisfied and assured that it is such a means and pledge, if it is not applied and given to us by *God Himself*, in the person of His representative, commissioned by Him to give us this assurance ? It is certain, that if water be applied never so seriously, it cannot be the Christian sacrament of baptism, if it wants the true form, “ In the name of the Trinity,” appointed in the institution ; this every one will acknowledge : and why then should any plead for its being a sacrament, when the very truth of the form itself is destroyed by the administration of an uncommissioned person, who cannot really and truly, and without a lie, say, I baptize thee in the name, or by the authority and commission, of the Father, and of

the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; this his usurpation is as contrary to the institution as a truly commissioned person's leaving out the form would be, as I think I have proved; and therefore, if the one hinders the water from being a true Christian sacrament, the other must do so too, because the person to administer is as much appointed as the matter and form of administration. And this person is *as much* the representative of God the giver, as the matter is the representation of the graces given; insomuch that we have at least as much reason to omit the symbolical element, as we have to leave out the divine authority or commission, which represents no less than God Himself; and therefore those administrations of the former which are destitute of the latter are no Christian sacraments, or, which is the same, means and pledges of supernatural graces.

Obj. III. But if this be so, others will say, you have brought us to a fine pass; for it is well known that this divine authority is very much controverted, and where to fix it is not yet determined. So that while we are in this suspense, we must be always doubting concerning the validity of our baptism; and thereby you put this divine institution upon a very precarious and uncertain foundation.

Ans. That the divine right of who shall minister in things pertaining to God, has been, and still is, very much disputed by some ignorant and foolish men, and also by others of corrupt principles and wicked designs, we find to be too true by woful ex-

perience; but what then, does that argue that it is not to be determined who has this divine right? Certainly no; for though, through heresy and schism, the minds of many men are so dreadfully blinded that they do not discover this great truth, yet, God be praised, those who continue in the communion of the truly catholic and apostolic Church, and are diligent and inquisitive to know God's will, and to live according to that knowledge, need never be put to so great a plunge as to be in doubt and suspense concerning this dispute, or the validity of their baptism, which they have received from the lawfully ordained ministers of Christ, because such ministers must be visible and known, as long as there is, or shall be, any truly organised Church of Christ in the world; and that there shall be always such a Church is plain by our Saviour's promise, that *the gates of hades shall not prevail against it*:¹ and as for the valid ministers thereof, that they shall also continue, is as certain, by His promising thus to His apostles, *Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world*;² and this is further confirmed by the apostle St. Paul's assuring us, that when Christ ascended up on high, *He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, &c. till we all come into the unity of the faith, &c. unto a perfect man*.³ Now, it is certain that this perfection and entire unity will not

[¹ Matt. xvi. 18.][² Matt. xxviii. 20.][³ Eph. iv. 12.]

be completed till the end of the world ; and therefore these officers, appointed to bring about such excellent purposes, must continue so long, and be visible among us. And that the continuance of such valid ministers, who have commission for the effecting of these noble ends, in the Church, is to be so plain and perspicuous, as that it shall be easy to discover and distinguish them from false teachers and new upstarts, is evident by another design for which our Lord appointed them, viz. *that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive* (Eph. iv. 14). For how can valid ministers of Christ defend us against every wind of doctrine, and the cunning craftiness of deceivers, if they are not to be visible and known to us ? So that as sure as God is true, so sure we are that His duly authorised and rightly commissioned ministers, *i. e.* apostles and prophets, &c., shall continue, and be known in the Church, to the consummation of all things ; and therefore we shall never want such as have capacity to administer His holy sacraments, and consequently need never be in suspense either about their divine authority, or the validity of our baptism administered by their hands. So that my affirming baptism to be invalid for want of such divine authority or commission in the administrator, does not put this divine institution upon an uncertain, but a sure and lasting foundation.

But here I expect that it will be asked, in whom

do I suppose this divine authority to be fixed? I answer, that I do not only suppose, but firmly and undoubtedly believe, after a strict and impartial inquiry, which I have deliberately made into this matter, that it was settled by Christ Himself at first, and continually conveyed down to this day, in *episcopacy only*; and of this I am as certain as that our first day of the week was appointed by Christ and His apostles to be the Christian Sabbath; nay, though I am very well satisfied that this our Christian Sabbath is of divine appointment, yet I can safely affirm that the arguments by which it is to be proved are not so numerous as those for the divine right of episcopacy, as may easily be demonstrated whensoever it shall be put to the trial. As for those who are of another opinion, I wish they had either more knowledge or more humility: it is none of my business here to endeavour their conviction; but if they would use their utmost diligence to do the will of God in all other instances of their duty, and seek to Him for that wisdom which is from above, inquiring without prejudice, by attentively reading the sacred oracles, and comparing therewith what has been said by many excellent authors upon this subject, I hope they would then know of this doctrine, whether it be of God: which that they may, I heartily recommend these few modern books to their serious perusal, viz.

A Modest Proof of the Order and Government settled by Christ and His Apostles in the Church.

Printed for John Wyat, at the Rose in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1705.

A Discourse shewing who they are that are now qualified to administer Baptism and the Lord's Supper.
Printed for C. Brome, at the Gun, at the west end of St. Paul's, 1698.

Dr. Potter of Church Government. Printed for Tim. Child, at the White Hart in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1707.

Dr. Hickes' Two Treatises, one of the Christian Priesthood, the other of the Dignity of the Episcopal Order. Printed for Richard Sare, at Gray's Inn-Gate in Holborn, 1707.

And a little book called *The Plain Man's Guide to the True Church.* Printed for R. Clavel, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1708.

Obj. IV. But some, it is likely, will charge me with uncharitableness, in denying the validity of the baptisms of foreign Churches, where there is no episcopal ordination, and of many good and pious men who are without such ordination among ourselves.

Ans. The main drift of my essay is against the validity of that baptism which men know themselves to have received from persons who were never divinely commissioned, and yet presume to usurp this authority, in opposition to the divine right of episcopacy; which being duly considered, frees me from answering to this charge with respect to such foreigners, some of which have told you that they do not act in opposition to episcopacy, and have pleaded that they

lie under a necessity not to have bishops among them, but that they highly value and reverence that order in our English Church. Whether this plea of necessity be good, or whether it affects them so far as to hinder their receiving episcopal ordination from other Protestant Churches, though they cannot have bishops residing among themselves, is not my business here to inquire. But this I am sure of, that there is not the least reason, nay, it is impious, to compliment away the great truths of God, to please any, though never so great a party of men.

The divine right of episcopacy is plain from Scripture, and was never called in question by any considerable number of men, till within these last two hundred years; and must we now lay it aside for fear of opposing new upstart notions and opinions? God forbid! Must our holding fast the sound doctrine of Christ and His apostles be called uncharitable and unkind, because it does not suit with the temper and disposition of other people? Cannot we still keep our charity for them, by believing that God may dispense with the very want of the Christian sacraments, and bestow even the supernatural graces of them to those who labour either under an invincible ignorance, or else an impossibility of receiving those sacraments, when they do all that lies in their power to fulfil His blessed will? Certainly we may; for God can dispense with His own institutes, and give the spiritual graces annexed to them to whom He pleases (by axiom 2).

But as for some of those among ourselves, I fear their case is very dangerous, because abundance of them seem to want so fair an excuse, living under that episcopal government which they refuse to acknowledge and submit to. But God only knows their several circumstances of knowledge and capacity, and the strength of those prejudices which some of them may have contracted by their education. He is Infinite Goodness itself, and will never punish any for what they never could help. But as for the slothful and negligent, the obstinate and perverse, we have no authority from divine revelation to hope any thing for their advantage. But, to sum up my whole answer to this objection, in the words of an excellent modern author :

“ Those who have been baptised by persons not lawfully ordained, and consequently they have received no baptism, having received it from those who had no commission to administer it, but who were guilty of the highest sacrilege in usurping such a sacred commission, not lawfully derived to them by a successive ordination from the apostles,”—as is the case with us ; —“ but yet, through a general corruption of the times, such baptisms are suffered to pass ; whereby the persons so baptised, swimming down the stream, do think their baptism to be valid, and therefore seek not for a rebaptisation”—I had rather say, true baptism—“ from those who are empowered to administer it ;—I say, where no such rebaptisation”—or rather true baptism—“ is taught, and thereby the

people know nothing of it, in such case their ignorance is in a manner invincible ; and their sincerity and devotion in receiving no sacraments, yet thinking them true sacraments, may be accepted by God, and the inward grace conferred.” But this case does not reach those who do or may know and act better ; and is the whole of my charity in this matter, and I think a sufficient answer to the objection.

Obj. V. Another objection, in defence of the validity of baptisms administered by such as have not the divine commission, is the example of Zipporah, Moses’ wife,¹ who circumcised her son, and thereby saved her husband’s life, for God sought to kill Moses ; and when she had circumcised her son He let him go, and therefore approved of her act in so doing, though she had no right to do so by the institution.

Ans. Whosoever will but look into the first institution of circumcision will find that God did not set apart a particular order of men for this purpose, but only required (Gen. xvii. 10), *Every man child among you shall be circumcised*, &c. to the 15th verse, *every male must be circumcised* ; but the persons who should continually administer this circumcision are not named in the institution.

Nay, though it should be granted that circumcision was to be performed by the master, as he was the priest of his family, yet it does not follow that

[¹ This case is much insisted upon by the Romanists, to justify baptism by midwives. See Forbes, *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae.*]

Zipporah did any thing more than what she had a right to do, because her husband's authority was devolved upon her in his sickness, when he was unable to do it himself; especially considering that this sickness was inflicted upon him because his son had not been circumcised, and that he might therefore order his wife to do it in his stead; and consequently it was interpretatively done by himself, because by his authority; as we find in the issue, by God's sparing his life when the circumcision was performed; and by Zipporah's words to Moses, when she had cut off the foreskin of her son, and cast it at his feet, saying, *A bloody husband thou art, because of the circumcision* (Exod. iv. 25, 26), which plainly implies that she did it for his sake, and by his order. But what does all this avail to those who knowingly receive or acquiesce in baptism received from such as have no divine commission, when they may be baptised by Christ's own ministers, whom He has particularly appointed, exclusive of all others, to baptise? This is acting even contrary to the example here objected; because, by all that can be seen in the text, she acted by a divine commission—even by virtue of an immediate revelation to Moses her husband, whom God doubtless acquainted with the cause of His displeasure, and the means of appeasing His anger by this circumcision of his son; which was an extraordinary and unusual case, and not at all parallel to the unauthorised ministrations of those who act in opposition to that divine commission, which has been successively

handed down from Christ and His apostles in all ages.

Obj. VI. Another objection is a maxim which some would persuade us will hold good in Christian baptism; and that is, *Fieri non debet; factum valet: i. e.* “ It is not lawful to be done ; yet being done, it is valid.”

Ans. Though this maxim may hold good in circumstantial cases, yet it does not therefore follow that it will so in all, or indeed in any, of the essentials of worldly matters. For example : it is not lawful for me to make a man free of the city of London ; and though I should be never so serious and formal in pretending, or should really suppose myself to have sufficient authority to give such a freedom, yet it is certain that such a freedom given by me would never be valid ; the man must receive a legal freedom, notwithstanding the counterfeit one he had of me. The like may be justly affirmed of the naturalisation of foreigners, and many other great concerns of this world. And if this maxim will not hold good in these, and abundance of other worldly things, how much less in those of an infinitely higher nature —in the divine positive institutions which God has made to be the means and pledges of supernatural benefits, to be conferred on us by the ministration of His own particularly commissioned and authorised ambassadors ? Especially when we remember that this maxim was never appointed by Him to be our rule and guide in any of our affairs, much less in those of a religious and spiritual nature, as, without

all doubt, Christian baptism is. Besides, the objection acknowledges it is not lawful, therefore it is sinful : it is a sin against an essential of the institution ; and how *such a sinful act* should be *valid* for *supernatural purposes*, is utterly inconceivable, nay, it is abominable to affirm it.

Obj. VII. Another objection which I have heard of is, that the council of Eliberis, A.D. 305, allowed of lay baptism in a case of necessity ; that the Church of Rome does so to this day ; and that the Church of England did so in the reign of King Edward VI., of Queen Elizabeth, and in the beginning of King James I., as is plain by the several Common Prayer-books in those days, particularly King Edward's, A.D. 1552, and King James's, 1621, still to be seen at Sion College library in London.

Ans. I grant the truth of these matters of fact, and yet affirm that those allowances, be they of what consequence they will, are not of any validity for our unauthorised and anti-episcopal baptisms.

As for the council of Eliberis, I have cited it in my Preliminary Discourse, and made such remarks thereon as will utterly frustrate the design of this objection ; and therefore I refer the reader back to it for his satisfaction.

Next for the Church of Rome : her allowances in this case are no rule to us Protestants, who have separated from her for her many gross errors both in doctrine and practice. She began to quarrel with St. Cyprian and other primitive bishops, and carried

it very unchristianly against them, for not allowing any validity in such baptisms, and has ever since persisted in this ill humour; so far as at last to condemn those who do not believe the validity of baptism administered by women, whose authoritative acts in the Church of God are both contrary to the law of nature, and also forbidden by the Holy Ghost Himself. St. Basil, in his tenth epistle, complains of the western bishops, and particularly the Roman: *Quod veritatem neque norunt, neque discere sustinent.—Cum iis qui veritatem ipsis annunciant contendentes, hæresin autem per se ipsos stabilientes,*¹—“that they neither know the truth, nor care to learn it; but they contend with them who tell them the truth, and by themselves establish heresy.” For which reason their authority ought not to be objected in this matter by a Protestant; especially considering that such an objector will not submit to their decisions, even in things of a much more inferior nature.

The practice of the Church of England in this case would have been looked upon as a formidable objection, if she herself had not answered it already by purging her Liturgy of so inconsistent a rubric. I call it inconsistent, because, especially in King James I.’s reign, she had declared in her Articles of Reli-

[¹ This is Myrcæus’ translation. The original is: ποῖα βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὁφρύος; οἱ τό γε ἀληθὲς οὔτε ἵστασιν, οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται.—πρὸς μὲν τοὺς τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικήσαντες, τὴν δὲ αἴρεσιν δι’ ἔαυτῶν βεβαιώσαντες. Vol. ii. p. 795. ed. Par. 1618.]

gion¹ that it is unlawful, *i. e.* sinful, for any man to administer sacraments until he be lawfully called and sent; and at the same time allowed, by her rubric to private baptism,² that any one there present might baptise the infant in a case of necessity. This can be reconciled to her articles of religion by no other way, but by supposing that she by her rubric authorised and empowered laymen for such cases, as much as if she had ordained them by imposition of hands. If any will assert this, which will be odd enough if they do, yet still it will not favour the baptism now disputed against, for they are utterly destitute of any such supposed empowering and au-

[¹ Art. xxiii.]

[² Rubric, before the revision, prefixed to office of private baptism.

“Also they (the pastors and curates) shall warn the people, that without great cause and necessity they baptise not children at home in their houses. And when great need shall compel them so to do, that then they minister it in this fashion:

“¶ First, let them that be present call upon God for His grace, and say the Lord’s prayer, if the time will suffer. And then one of them shall name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour water upon him, saying these words:

“¶ ‘N., I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.’

“And let them not doubt but that the child so baptised is lawfully and sufficiently baptised, and ought not to be baptised again in the church. But yet, nevertheless, if the child, which is after this sort baptised, do afterwards live, it is expedient that he be brought into the church, to the intent the priest may examine and try whether the child be lawfully baptised or no. And if those that bring the child to the church do answer

thorising rubric as that was esteemed to have been ; though yet, even in that Common Prayer-book, upon the priest's examination afterwards into the lawfulness of the child's baptism, it was required that this question should be put to the persons who brought the child to church, viz. "Whether they think the child to be lawfully and perfectly baptised :" which, considering the preceding questions, "Whether it was baptised with water and in the name of the Trinity," &c., seems to be needless and to no purpose, except by asking their thoughts about the lawfulness and perfection of such a baptism, they meant to make it lawful or unlawful, as the persons they put such a question to should think it ; which is a very strange, and indeed a precarious and uncertain, foundation for us to build the validity of our baptism upon in such a case of necessity : and therefore it is no wonder that the Church of England, upon a more exact review of her Liturgy,¹ ex-

that he is already baptised, then shall the priest examine them further :

"¶ By whom the child was baptised ?

"Who was present when the child was baptised ?

"Whether they called upon God for grace and succour in that necessity ?

"With what thing, or what matter, they did baptise the child ?

"With what words the child was baptised ?

"Whether they think the child to be lawfully and perfectly baptised ?"]

[¹ At the Hampton-Court Conference, A.D. 1604.]

punged this question out of the rubric, and also, for very weighty reasons, took away the liberty of lay baptising in her present Liturgy, by requiring, even in cases of necessity, that baptism should be administered by “the minister of the parish, or any other lawful minister that can be procured:” which is a substantial answer to all objections that may be raised from her former practice. But if such a custom had been still continued, St. Cyprian¹ long since laid it down for an undoubted truth, “that we are not to be determined by any customs of that nature, but to examine whether they will bear the test of reason.” And Bishop Taylor says, speaking of baptism by midwives, “This custom came in at a wrong door. It leaned upon a false and superstitious opinion; and they thought it better to invade the priest’s office than to trust God with the souls which He made with His own hands, and redeemed with His Son’s blood. But this custom was not to be followed, if it had still continued; for even then they confessed it was sin, *factum valet, fieri non debuit*; and evil ought not be done for a good end. *Quod si a mulieribus baptizari oporteret, profecto Christus a matre baptizatus esset, et non a Johanne; aut cum nos ad baptizandum misit, mississet mulieres nobiscum ad hoc: nunc vero nusquam neque jussit Dominus, neque per Scripturam tradidit, utpote qui naturæ convenientiam et rei decorum nosset, tanquam naturæ auctor et*

[¹ St. Cyprian ad Quintum, epist. lxx. “Non est autem de consuetudine præscribendum, sed ratione vincendum.”]

dispensator,—said the author of the Constitutions, under the name of St. Clement (*lib. iii. c. 9*). To this agrees that of Tertullian (*lib. de Virg. Veland.*) : *Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis mulieris nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vindicare.* This custom, therefore, is of the nature of those which are to be laid aside. Οὐδεὶς βαπτίζει, εἰ μὴ χειροτονίᾳ ἔχει, no man baptises but he that is in holy orders, said Simeon of Thessalonica ;¹ and I think he said truly. But, above all things, opinions are not to be taken up by custom, and reduced to practice ; not only because custom is no good warranty for opinions, and *voluntas fertur carere oculis, intellectus pedibus*, that is, it can do nothing without the will, and the will must do nothing without that ; they are a blind man and a lame when they are asunder, but when they are together they make up a sound man, while the one gives reason, and the other gives command ;—but, besides this, when an opinion is offered only by the

[¹ Brett (*Letter to Laurence*, p. 7) says : “ This Simeon, as we learn from Wharton’s Appendix to Cave’s *Hist. Lit.*, p. 89, flourished about the year 1410, and died 1429, and was a metropolitan of the Greek Church.”]

Bingham (*Schol. Hist.* part i. c. ii. p. 101) will have the passage understood with the limitation of “ cases of necessity, or else to be rejected as false ;” which answer, he says, was given to the passage “ by Arcadius : but neither he nor Bishop Taylor refer us to Simeon’s book whence it is taken. I suppose it to be his book of the Sacraments of the Church ; but till I can see the book itself, I will not be positive.”]

hand of custom, it is commonly a sign of a bad cause, and that there is nothing else to be said for it.”—*Ductor Dubitantium*, b. iii. c. iv. p. 287, vol. ii.

And in the same book (book ii. c. i. p. 261) : “ In all moral actions there must be a substantial potestative principle that must have a proportioned power to the effect : a thing cannot be done without a cause and principle in morality, any more than in nature. If a woman goes about to consecrate the holy sacrament, it is $\chi\varepsilon\iota\rho \acute{\alpha}\kappa\nu\rho\sigma\varsigma$, an ineffective hand ; she sins for attempting it, and cannot do it afterwards : and it were wiser and truer, if men will think the same thing of their giving baptism, unless they will confess that to baptise children is a mere natural and secular action, to which natural powers are sufficient ; or that women have received spiritual powers to do it, and that whether a priest or a woman does it, is no difference, but matter of order only. If an effect be spiritual, the agent must be so too.” Thus far that great bishop : and if his reasons are good against women’s baptising, as I think they are, they will be as good, to all intents and purposes, against a man’s presuming to do the like without the divine commission : because he is equally destitute of a spiritual power, and, in fact, is as little in holy orders as she.

Obj. VIII. The last objection that I shall mention is what some great men have made use of to establish the validity of lay baptism ; and that is, that though it was a sin for the two hundred and fifty princes to

offer incense, yet by even that sinful offering, the censers, wherewith they offered, "were hallowed," and God Himself declared them to be so (Numb. xvi. 37). In like manner, though it be a sin for laymen to baptise, yet the person so baptised is thereby hallowed and sanctified, and consequently such a baptism is valid.

Ans. This objection has no manner of force for the purpose designed, because it is not in the least parallel to Christian baptism; for the censers (mere senseless things) were capable of no supernatural spiritual graces and privileges to be enjoyed by them by virtue of that offering; but the objects of baptism, sensible, rational, and immortal souls, are to be possessed of, and to be made happy by, such unspeakable benefits and advantages as are annexed to baptism. The censers were wholly passive; but the baptised person is not so, for even in infancy he is active by his sponsors; and when he comes to years, must be so in his own person. The censers, though they were hallowed, yet they were not hallowed to the same purpose as the censers wherewith Aaron offered incense; for God did not order those two hundred and fifty censers to be continued for the same use to which those sinners put them, but required them *to be made broad plates for a covering for the altar: to be a memorial unto the children of Israel, that no stranger, which is not of the seed of Aaron, come near to offer incense before the Lord* (Numb. xvi. 39, 40). So that if these censers are a parallel instance for

persons baptised by uncommissioned pretenders, then the use that God ordered them to be put to should teach us to make the like use of such sinfully baptised persons, viz. to make them memorials to all Christians, that none who are not commissioned by Christ should dare to come near to baptise in the Christian Church: but how shall such sinfully-baptised persons become such memorials so effectually, as by renouncing their false, and receiving true Christian baptism from Christ's authorised ministers, and thereby frustrate, as much as they can, the presumptuous usurpations of those who have no divine mission for so great a ministration? This is the most proper inference that can be drawn from these censers, with respect to such as are unlawfully baptised; though, after all, they have nothing in them that can with any coherence be justly adapted to the institution of Christian baptism, or any one essential part thereof. The two hundred and fifty princes, indeed, if compared to the unauthorised administrators of baptism, may be something to the purpose; and so may the incense, if compared to the water in baptism; because as this, when rightly administered, is the means of spiritual benefits, so incense, when rightly offered, *i.e.* by a divinely commissioned person, was a means likewise of procuring the favour of God, by making an atonement for the sins of the people. But as for the censers, they were only the vessels wherein this incense, the outward means of the atonement, was contained; so that they have not the least reference,

either to the person administering, or to the water of baptism, or to the person baptised ; and therefore, if the objector will have them to be parallel to any thing at all in this matter, they must be so to the vessel which contains the baptism-water : and he may make as much use as he pleases of that parallelism, which is nothing at all to our present purpose.

Upon the whole, the grand design of these princes was, in opposition to the established priesthood, to offer incense before the Lord, contrary to a divine positive institution, which confined that action to Aaron and his sons only. This offering being thus unlawful, for want of the divine authority of the persons administering, was so far from being accepted, that it was a crying abomination ; and instead of procuring a blessing, either for themselves or their abettors, drew down upon them swift destruction ; the princes being immediately consumed by a fire from the Lord, and fourteen thousand seven hundred of their partisans destroyed by a plague. Even so, if any thing about baptism may be hence inferred, we may justly fear that the administration of supposed baptism by uncommissioned persons, in opposition to the divinely established priesthood of the Christian Church, instead of being a means of conveying spiritual graces and benefits to those who knowingly receive or acquiesce in it, will rather exclude both such giver and receiver (though they escape God's judgments here) from the infinite privileges of His

children hereafter, without a sincere and speedy repentance.

Some other objections I have endeavoured to obviate in the progress of this essay; and therefore shall only further declare, that I sincerely believe the subject of the discourse to be a substantial truth, nay, even a first principle of Christianity; and that without the courageous asserting and vindication thereof, the whole Christian priesthood, and the divine authority of it, must be called in question, as we see it has lately been in public print,¹ and consequently in time so far denied, as to encourage every bold intruder to usurp that sacred office and ministry, even in opposition to that divine commission which has been constantly handed down from Christ and His apostles to this very day.

I hope, therefore, that none who are vested with this divine authority will fight against it by appearing publicly in opposition to the subject of this essay. As for my manner of arguing to defend it, there may be some undesigned faults in it, which I humbly submit to their just correction and prudent censure; hoping they will execute both with so much wisdom and conduct as to make me see my own errors, and, at the same time, not to prejudice, but add strength and cogency to the cause I have pleaded, which ought by no means to suffer for my weakness in its defence.

[¹ Probably referring to Tindal's book, alluded to p. 104.]

As for the mere pretenders to this divine authority, I have nothing to say to them or their followers, but only to desire them to take care not to deceive themselves, but seriously to inquire whether there is any legality in that pretended commission by which they act; which, till they can solidly prove, I shall always esteem to be utterly invalid for the administration of Christian sacraments. I shall not trouble myself to enter the lists with them, though they quarrel never so much with what I have said; they have work enough already cut out to their hands in those excellent books which I have mentioned in my answer to the third objection; and to their arguments I refer them for the *divine right of episcopacy*, that they may save themselves the trouble of demanding them from me.

If they shall oppose my assertion of the necessity of a divine commission to administer baptism, they will thereby confound themselves, when they affirm that they baptise by virtue of such a commission; and then I shall not think them worth answering.

I conclude all with my hearty prayers to Almighty God, that this my weak endeavour may be for His glory, and "that He would keep us from all *false doctrine, heresy, and schism*; that all who profess and call themselves Christians may be led into the *way of truth*, and hold the faith in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life; and that He would be pleased to illuminate *all bishops, priests, and deacons*, with true knowledge and understanding of

His word, that, both by their preaching and living, they may set it forth and shew it accordingly," and rightly and duly administer *His holy sacraments*; that so *Jeroboam's priests* may not *profane His service*, but that *the seed of Aaron* may still minister before Him, to Whom, with His eternal Son and Holy Spirit, three Persons, but one God, be ascribed, as is most due, all honour, praise, and glory, might, majesty, and dominion, by every creature that is in heaven and earth, and under the earth, for ever and ever. Amen.

Objections continued.

SINCE the publication of the first edition of this book, I am informed that some gentlemen of no mean character have made further objections against the subject thereof; which, because they look very plausible at first sight, and may therefore prejudice too many against what I have proposed, I shall endeavour here to answer as briefly and plainly as I can.

Obj. IX. And, first, it is said,¹ that if lay baptism be invalid, and the divine commission to baptise be conveyed from the apostles in episcopacy only, then all those foreign reformed Churches which have no episcopal ordination are effectually unchurched, as being, by the principles asserted by me, destitute of a Christian ministry, and consequently of Christian baptism; which is a consequence so dreadful, and even contrary to the concessions of many episcopal divines of the Church of England, that none ought to admit that doctrine, from which, if granted, so great a mischief must necessarily arise.

Answ. That lay baptism is null and void I humbly conceive I have proved; if not, let the authors of this objection shew either the insufficiency or fallacy of the arguments I have produced for that purpose, otherwise I shall take it for granted that they acknow-

[¹ See Objection IV. p. 62.]

ledge such baptisms to be invalid; or else, that at best they can give no solid reasons for their validity. And therefore, till I hear further from them upon this single topic, I shall give myself no more trouble about it, but proceed to the conveyance of the divine commission to baptise ; and this supposing lay baptism to be invalid, can be conveyed from the apostles in the Christian ministry only ; so that all our business here is to know how the Christian ministry was handed down, and successively continued, from the apostles to our days, and this will determine who can administer valid baptism.

That the Christian ministry was conveyed from the apostles in episcopacy only, we have a cloud of witnesses : first, the institution of our Saviour Himself ; secondly, the practice of the apostles—both recorded in the sacred oracles of infallible truth, the holy Scriptures ; thirdly, all ecclesiastical history ; and fourthly, the constant and uninterrupted practice of the universal Church of Christ in all ages and places for one thousand five hundred years together, from the apostles' days. These all bear testimony to this great truth ; as has been sufficiently demonstrated by a vast number of the best Christian writers, particularly some of our own nation, and that very lately, (vide those I have mentioned¹ in answer to the third objection, and another entitled *The Divine Right of Episcopacy*, printed for Richard Sare, at Gray's Inn Gate, in Holborn, 1708,) who have obviated and an-

[¹ p. 61.]

swered the objections of all enemies so exceedingly well, that it would be no less than presumption in me to attempt to say any thing more upon that subject after such learned authors ; to whom, therefore, I refer the reader for his satisfaction in this point, and pass on to consider the objection itself.

If, then, the premises above mentioned be true, if lay baptism be invalid, &c., then, says the objector, "all those foreign reformed Churches, &c. are effectually unchurched, being destitute of a Christian ministry, and consequently of Christian baptism." Why, truly, if those foreign reformed are unchurched upon the truth of those premises, I cannot help that ; it is the objector himself that tells me so ; and I know of no way for him to help them out of that difficulty at present, but either to prove the premises false, or else to persuade them to receive episcopal ordination. But it is said, "this is a dreadful consequence." It may be so, and very dreadful too, if they are so far unchurched as to be reduced to a state of absolute infidels, which I hope the objector does not mean when he says they are unchurched ; if he does, I must tell him, that, though I am no latitudinarian, I have more charitable thoughts concerning thousands of them than he has, upon the supposition of their being destitute of Christian baptism ; for I believe abundance of them may be included in the number of those whom I have spoke of in the words of a most excellent modern author, towards the end of my answer to the fourth objection, and that, therefore, they may very

fairly be esteemed *as much in the Church* as the *catechumeni*, or candidates for Christian baptism, were used to be in the primitive times. This, I think, abates much of the dreadfulness of the consequence to the honest and sincere; but it cannot be hence inferred that their ministry and ministrations are good and valid, or that those who know their defects should concur and communicate with them in such their deviations from the divine institutes.

But to proceed : this, says the objector, is “ even contrary to the concessions of many episcopal divines of the Church of England.”¹ I suppose he means some of the writers since the Reformation, who have endeavoured to make excuses and salvos for the presbyterian and lay ordinations abroad : in reference to whom I must needs say, that it is justly to be feared they have done more hurt by such their concessions, than at the time of their writing them they were aware of ; for it is not to be doubted that many put a great value upon the judgment of such learned and good men, and thereby have been induced to believe that such ordinations are good and valid, and consequently that there is no need for those foreign reformed to seek for episcopal ordination ; whereby too many of the foreign teachers themselves are, instead of being cured of, confirmed in, their errors, and, it may be, hindered from so much as but inquiring whether they are in the right or no. With submission

[¹ See Appendix, on the practice of the Church of England.]

to better judgments, such large concessions of those many episcopal divines have been not only prejudicial and hurtful to the reformed abroad, but even contrary to the doctrine and avowed practice of the Church of England, which they were obliged in conscience, by their subscription, to support and maintain. For, does she not teach in her 23d article, that "it is not lawful," therefore it is sinful, and contrary to their institution, "for any man to take upon him the office of ministering the sacraments before he be lawfully called and sent?" and does she not confine this *lawful calling and sending* to *episcopal ordination*, in the preface to her form and manner of making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons? Does she not call this *episcopal ordination Christ's commission and authority*, when in her 26th article she teaches, that the minister, when he administers the sacraments, does it "in Christ's name, and by His commission and authority?" Is she not so exactly consistent to all this, that she will not admit any of these foreign teachers into the number of her priests, no nor of her deacons neither, without episcopal ordination? Is not all this so true, that none can deny it? And does she not thereby, as much as may be, prevent all such concessions, and reprove those who make them, contrary to her doctrine and practice? I think she does; and consequently that her articles are not of so loose and variable a contexture as some, who ought to know better, have represented them to be—like a nose of wax, that may be wrested to serve any

turn, and defend almost all contradictory doctrines and practices whatsoever, without considering that her articles, rubrics, and canons, &c., concerning the divine right of episcopal ordination, when duly compared with one another, do make the most perfect harmony and agreement, and have nothing in them that is either contradictory or inconsistent to themselves, or disagreeable to the holy Scriptures, and practice of the primitive Church.

If, in the days of Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin, a priest of the tribe of Aaron should have undertaken to defend the validity of the priesthood which Jeroboam had set up, would he not have been justly censurable? would he not have acted contrary to the principles of the true Church of the Jews at Jerusalem? Certainly he would; notwithstanding the vastly superior numbers in the ten tribes who forsook the true priests, and the smallness of the numbers in the two other tribes, who would not *follow that multitude to do this evil.*¹ And the reason why he would have been justly blameable, is evident; because Jeroboam *made priests of the lowest of the people, which were not of the sons of Levi* (1 Kings xii. 31). For that this, as well as their idolatry, was his and the ten tribes' sin, is evident by Abijah's speech to them (2 Chron. xiii. 9, 10): *Have ye not cast out the priests of the Lord, the sons of Aaron, and the Levites, and have made you priests after the manner of the nations of other lands? &c.*

[¹ Exod. xxiii. 2.]

But as for us (i. e. the members of the true Church of God, the other two tribes of Israel), the Lord is our God, &c.; and the priests which minister unto the Lord are the sons of Aaron, and the Levites wait upon their business. Here you see that Abijah triumphs and glories in the true priesthood with them, because it was that which God Himself appointed; and he upbraids the ten tribes for their having set up other priests, without any regard to the divine institution of the priesthood. Their mighty numbers, and the seeming necessity of their being forced thereto by the secular power, was no argument for him to allow of their priesthood. How much less ought those writers among us to have studied so industriously, as some of them have done, to prove the validity of their ministry, who are not one tenth of the present universal Church, and who differ from them, and the whole Church throughout all ages, in not requiring their ministers to be vested with the divine authority by episcopal ordination.

I am well aware of what is pleaded by those episcopal divines, viz., that these foreign reformed were under a case of necessity, and some of them say they are so still. But I am not yet satisfied what they mean by this case of necessity. The Church of England, whereof those episcopal divines are members, has not declared it; the Scripture is wholly silent about it, and, on the contrary, has recorded the dreadful punishments inflicted upon some who, to all appearance, had a great deal of reason to plead, that

they were under great circumstances of necessity to assume to themselves those offices, wherein they ministered contrary to the divine institutions. As in the cases of Saul (1 Sam. xiii. 8-14), and Uzzah (2 Sam. vi. 6, 7). So that I am utterly at a loss to know how those writers could discover any case of necessity, that of itself was sufficient to authorise men to take upon them the great office of mediating between God and man. There is not one instance, that I know of, in all the sacred oracles, of any one's being instated into such an office, even in the greatest cases of necessity, without an explicit revelation of God's will, that the man should act therein, when the ordinary appointed means of giving him his commission was wanting. And if the excusers of those foreign ordinations can shew me such an instance, I shall be very much obliged to them if they will be pleased to do it.

Nay further; supposing that it were possible to determine a case of necessity, that might be sufficient to empower men to administer valid sacraments, without receiving a commission for so doing, by God's appointed means of episcopal ordination; yet I do not find that any of the above-said writers have proved by good arguments, that the said foreigners were ever under such a case of necessity, much less that they are so now: and till this is proved, I see no reason to be at all concluded by the writings of even the best of men, when they make such proviso as God has not made, and who can give us no proof of their

being guided in their dictates by the infallible Spirit of truth, as the blessed apostles and prophets were.

I know that some do beg the question, by supposing, “What if the episcopal order were utterly extinct, and no bishops could be found to confer holy orders; must there be no ministers therefore in the Christian Church? and must the visible Church of Christ cease to have a being as such in the world?” This, at first proposing, looks to be a very weighty question; but when we justly reflect on the divine veracity, which has infallibly assured us, *that Christ will be with His apostles* (*i. e.* them and their successors, the bishops) *always, even unto the end of the world*;¹ and that *the gates of hell shall never prevail against the Church*;² then the impertinence and folly of this “what if” does immediately discover itself; because it supposes what in fact never was, nor ever will be; and therefore needs no answering, because not to be granted. But, alas, supposing that it were, as it is not, possible, for the Church to be universally deprived of her spiritual fathers, the bishops, it is our duty, as well as safety, rather to wait and hope for some new revelation of His will, for another institution of men to succeed in the Christian priesthood, than to take it upon ourselves by such ways and means as He has not hitherto appointed, and which will therefore prove ineffectual for the supernatural purposes of His own divine institution; because *man*, by his own authority only, can never make a human

[¹ Matt. xxviii. 20.]

[² Matt. xvi. 18.]

equal to a divine institution. But this case has never happened yet; and therefore no society of men, either past or present, can be at all excused upon this supposed foundation.

And now, to conclude all that I have to say to this objection, no doctrine whatsoever can be proved to be false by the mischiefs of those consequences which necessarily arise from it, when those consequences themselves are not contradictory to some previous truths; and when men, by either their wilful sins or supine neglects, are the only causes of the mischiefs of those consequences, for which truth and its assertors are no ways answerable. This, I believe, is a maxim that will stand the test of a strict examination, and hold good in the case before us. And I pray God to touch the hearts of those who are concerned in it with a due sense of their deviations from His holy institutes, that they may complete a thorough reformation; that the Christian priesthood may recover its ancient spiritual glory; and that we may be all blessed with the happiness of a universal communion of saints here in the Church militant, so as to be entitled to an entire and eternal union and communion with the Church triumphant in the kingdom of heaven.

Obj. X. It is further objected, that if lay baptism be invalid, then all those who never received any other baptism are incapable of holy orders, having never been baptised; and therefore the orders of several episcopally ordained persons among us are null and void, and consequently so are all their mi-

nisterial acts too, because they never received any other than lay baptism. This will involve the Church in the utmost confusion ; and therefore the invalidity of lay baptism ought not to be allowed by any who value the order and peace of the Church.

Ans. This objection raises a consequence from an uncertain, and it may be a false, foundation ; for it takes for granted, that the unworthiness of a person to receive holy orders, or his being not duly qualified for them, by reason of his being unbaptised, renders holy orders, if conferred on him, null and void ; or, in short, that “ want of baptism nulls holy orders in any person ordained to the ministry.”¹

[¹ Palmer on the Church, part vi. chap. vii. sect. 2, vol. ii. p. 438. “ Is ordination null when conferred on a person unbaptised ? This is a question of great difficulty, and much may be alleged on both sides. It was certainly the will of our Saviour that those who believed should be baptised. It is equally obvious, that none except believers were qualified to be His ministers ; and as St. Paul forbade even those newly baptised to be ordained, how much more would he have prohibited those who were not yet grafted into the Church by baptism ? But, on the other hand, if some person ordained in the Church is afterwards discovered by himself and others not to have been baptised, is his ordination to be accounted null and void ? It is generally admitted, that, in a case of necessity, a sincere wish to receive the sacraments, together with a true faith, is sufficient to produce the effect of those sacraments. And, on the same principle, it might seem that one unbaptised, though ignorant of the fact, would not be less perfectly a disciple of Christ than those baptised, and therefore not less qualified for ordination, provided that he were in all other respects a Chris-

This assertion does not yet appear easy, if at all, to be proved, for these following reasons :

1. Because there is a vast difference between a personal capacity, or qualification, and an authoritative one. For a personal qualification for the minister. To this it may be added, that in the supposed case, the person unbaptised would have been admitted frequently to partake of the flesh and blood of Christ in the eucharist; and this might furnish another probability, that he was invested with the privileges of those initiated by the sacrament of regeneration. Dionysius of Alexandria was afraid to baptise a man who had only heretical baptism, but who had partaken of the eucharist (*Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* vii. 9). It seems from this probable, I think, that such an ordination is not null; but piety would enjoin the reception of baptism privately: and if the case were publicly known, and caused scandal, it would be advisable to reordain conditionally."

This matter was invested with a painful interest in the case of Secker, who received only dissenters' baptism; and the same is *said* also of Tillotson and others. Taylor (*Ductor Dubitanum*, vol. ii. p. 267) argues, that the Church's appointment might dispense with irregularity, as in ordination during the novitiate, which was the case with St. Ambrose; but does not apply this to baptism: he says that Ambrose was *appointed* bishop before baptism; but we know from Paulinus, that he was not only baptised, but passed through all the ecclesiastical offices, before his consecration. From the fact that clinic baptism was a disqualification for orders, we may fairly conclude that the total absence of the sacrament would be a much stronger one. Of course, this is upon Laurence's principle, that dissenters' baptism is no baptism. But this only proves that unbaptised persons are incapable of orders: the remarks of Hickes and Waterland, to shew that their ministerial acts are not therefore nullified, are produced elsewhere.]

nistry is, what a man is bound to be endowed with *in common* with all other Christians, whether he be ordained to the ministry or no ; and therefore baptism and holiness of life, being equally incumbent on all Christians, ministers as well as laymen, may justly be distinguished by the name of personal qualifications.

But an authoritative qualification for the ministry is that only whereby a man is separated and distinguished from the rest of mankind, and thereby empowered to personate and represent the divine presence, for the conveyance of spiritual and supernatural benefits to us. This is what we call the divine commission, conveyed from the apostles in episcopacy, and given to the ordained person by imposition of the bishop's hands.

2. A personal qualification may be, and in fact often is, wanting, when an authoritative one remains good and valid ; and there is abundance of reason that it should be so, because the personal qualification chiefly respects the man himself, who is, or ought to be, possessed of it, since he only will reap the benefit of having, or find the misery of being destitute of it. But the authoritative qualification, as such, relates only to God and the people : to God, as the minister is to be His proxy and representative ; and to the people, as they are to receive from God the supernatural benefits of His proxy's ministrations. The people receive no more advantage from the personal qualification of God's representative than they do mischief from his personal immoralities ; that is,

none at all, except but by their own learning or imitation of them, because they are neither answerable for the one or the other, any farther than as they are encouragers or abettors of them. If he be destitute of any such qualifications, let him look to that, it is none of their business with respect to the validity of his ministrations. All that they are bound to take care of, upon that single account, is, that he be *truly sent*; and if they are but once secure of that, then in all his ministrations they are not to suppose him, but Christ Himself, whom he personates, to be administering to them: for all sacraments, on the part of the administration, are good and valid only upon this *one foundation*; without this, of Christ the great High-Priest's administering, either Himself in person, or by His proxy, all Christian sacraments must fall to the ground, and be of no use or advantage to mankind: and therefore, if we can but solidly, *i. e.* upon good foundation, believe that He does thus administer to us, we need never concern ourselves with the personal qualifications of His representative, for the validity of those administrations, which receive their whole efficacy from the authoritative qualifications of Christ Himself, who has promised to make good, and confirm them, when performed by one whom He has sent.

To exemplify all this in the case before us: holiness of life is required as a personal qualification, previous to holy orders. This is evident from St. Paul's epistles to Timothy and Titus; and yet it is well known, that our Lord Himself chose Judas Is-

cariot, a covetous thief, and one whom He Himself branded with the name of a devil ; I say, it is well known, that He chose this wicked wretch to be no less than an apostle, and sent him to preach and baptise, to cast out devils, and to heal the sick, as well as the rest of the apostles ; for which reason, all his ministerial acts were good and valid, notwithstanding his being destitute of the personal qualification of holiness of life ; and it is universally acknowledged, that the same is true of all other wicked bishops, priests, and deacons whatsoever, otherwise we could never be satisfied with the validity of ordinations in any age of Christianity. And therefore, though holiness of life is a necessary personal qualification for the ministry, because of great edification to the people, &c. ; yet if a truly ordained minister should be a wicked man, the people ought not to suspect the validity of his ministrations by reason of the wickedness of his life ; because it is Christ that administers by him as His proxy only, and Christ's ministrations are certainly good and valid, let His visible representative be never so wicked ; he himself (and not the people, except they concur with and encourage him in his wickedness) must answer for that. This is exactly agreeable to the twenty-sixth article of the Church of England ; and therefore there is no need longer to insist upon it, but to proceed to baptism, another personal qualification for holy orders.

It is certainly the indispensable duty of every minister to be baptised, as well as to be personally

holy, because it is a divine law, to which all ought to pay obedience ; for which reason I cannot omit commanding the laudable custom of the Church of Rome, who, though corrupt and scandalously wicked in other matters, yet requires her candidates for holy orders to prove their baptism before they can be admitted into the ministry : and I should heartily rejoice to see the governors of our Church require the same of her candidates for the ministerial function, who, it is to be feared, ever since the Reformation, have never been enjoined to bring certificates of their baptism, as well as of their good behaviour and Christian conversation. This omission, I charitably believe, proceeded only from an opinion that none would presume to enter into holy orders before they were baptised, and that therefore it was needless to require a proof of their baptism : but, however, if this custom had been preserved, it is reasonable to believe that the English clergy would some of them have been more strict in keeping their parish-registers of persons baptised by lawfully ordained ministers, and not have suffered schismatical lay baptisms to have been registered among the true baptisms, as it is now scandalously practised in some places, to the great grief of many, and, I hope, almost all English clergymen, who have constantly opposed all such unwarrantable practices, and will (to their praise be it spoken) never suffer such registers to be made in their parish-books. I say, if this good custom of requiring certificates of their baptism had been continued, it is very likely

that no lay-baptised person would have got such a certificate from the minister of any parish; because a minister's giving such a certificate would have been a publishing of his own fault, in making such a register as is contrary to the laws and customs of the Church; for he must have mentioned the layman's name, who was said to have baptised the person, and thereby have declared that he himself took part with schismatics, and consequently must have incurred the penalties of the tenth and fifty-seventh canons of the Church of England. And this might have been an effectual means of preserving the registers entire, and consequently of keeping out of the ministry those who received baptism from lay preachers; no other laymen being, at least now, so presumptuous as once to pretend to baptise. But this only by way of digression.

And now to return: Christian baptism is certainly a personal qualification for holy orders; and that it is no more than a personal one, I infer from hence, because all Christians are *equally* bound to be baptised, ministers as well as people; and it cannot be proved that it is more the duty of the one than of the other to be baptised. If it be said, Yes it is, because there must of necessity be a Christian minister before there can be a baptised layman; this is not denied. It is certainly true there must be so; but it does not therefore follow that he is not a Christian minister if he is unbaptised; for it is not his baptism, but the commission, that makes him a Christian mi-

nister, or one set apart to minister in the divine offices of the Christian religion. His being baptised is not his commission ; for if it is, then all baptised persons are, as such, commissioned officers of the Church, and so there is no need of any other ordination ; which is absurd, and contrary to the principles upon which this objection is raised. Again, his being baptised is no instituted essential part of his commission ; for if it be, then all baptised persons, as such, have one instituted essential part of a commission, though not a whole commission ; which is also absurd, because a commission is but *one thing*, and the essential parts thereof cannot be separated without violence and destruction to the whole ; and therefore all baptised persons, if they have one essential part of a commission, must have the whole ; which brings us back to the first absurdity, and consequently baptism itself, being no constituent essential part of his commission or ordination, he who is destitute of baptism is not, by reason of that *want alone*, destitute of holy orders. If it be objected, that while he is unbaptised, he is out of the Church ; and how can he, who is not of the Church, admit another by baptism into the Church ? I answer, though he is out of the Church with respect to any benefits to himself, yet not with respect to the spiritual benefits he has authority and commission mediately to convey to others ; for a man may be a true messenger, to carry that good to another which he himself neither does nor ever will enjoy. A master of a family may send

a neighbour, or a stranger, who is not of his family, and give him full power and authority to adopt and enter into his family some poor, destitute orphan children, whom he commiserates : and though that stranger be not of the family himself, yet his adopting those poor children into that family stands good, because the master of the family sent and empowered him to do it. And this I take to be very parallel to the case in hand ; and therefore he who is not of the Church, because unbaptised, may as truly admit a person into the Church by baptism, as he who, though baptised, through his wickedness is destitute of the Holy Ghost, can convey the gift of the Holy Ghost, by his ministration of sacraments, to others ; for as it is not the personal holiness of the administrator that conveys holiness to me in the ministration of any sacrament, so neither does his having received that sacrament signify any thing to me for the validity thereof, when he administers it to me by virtue of a divine commission explicitly given to him. This *commission alone* is that which makes the ministration not his, but God's own act, and as such (without any other appendant cause) it is good and valid. Hence our blessed Lord called both unbaptised and unholy men, viz. His apostles, who cannot be proved to have been baptised in the name of the Trinity before His resurrection ; and one of them, Judas Iscariot, a thief, a devil in his disposition, to the administration of holy things ; as if He would thereby teach us to look with faith on *His authority only*, without confiding in any

of the best accomplishments of those on whom He has conferred it. And if we do but look back to the condition of the Jewish Church during their forty years' sojourning in the wilderness, we shall find that none of them were circumcised in all that space of time ; and though the uncircumcised was by God's own appointment to be cut off from among His people, yet the ministry of those priests and Levites, who were born in the term of those forty years, was not nulled and made void for their want of circumcision, which doubtless was as much necessary to qualify them for holy orders, as baptism is now to qualify our Christian priests.

Upon the whole, as neither the baptism nor personal holiness of the minister can baptise or make us holy, but *the divine authority* residing in him, so neither can the baptism or personal holiness of the bishop confer holy orders, but *the divine authority* from Christ and His apostles, visibly conveyed to, and residing in him. It is by virtue of *this alone* that holy orders are given ; and if either the bishop, or ordained person, or both, have any personal incapacity, viz. of wickedness, or want of baptism, the fault is their own, and they must answer for it. But as for the ordination, that must remain good and valid, by reason of the external divine commission *de facto* given to the bishop. For if every personal defect of what is required either in the administrator or recipient could invalidate the administration either of baptism or holy orders, we should never have an end

of rebaptisations and reordinations; nay, we could never have any certainty either of valid baptisms or ordinations, because we should always find but too many occasions to call in question the sufficiency of the preparations and personal qualifications of both ministers and people, who are all equally exposed to the same human frailties, and liable to be tried with the same innumerable temptations.

And therefore I humbly conceive our best way is, I do not say *only*, but *chiefly*, to regard and insist on the visible divine authority and commission, handed down from Christ and His apostles, by that *order* of men who have always had power to convey it to others; this, with the right matter and form of administration, are what we ought to esteem to be the only essentials of baptism and ordination, on the part of the administrator of them; and as for the rest, every one in particular must do his part, to the utmost of his power, to secure those personal qualifications which God has required of both minister and people, under no less penalty than that of eternal damnation upon the wilful neglect of them.

Thus far I have presumed to declare my thoughts concerning the uncertainty, and, as far as I can see, the falseness of the foundation upon which this whole objection is raised, humbly submitting all I have said in opposition to it to the better reasons and arguments of my superiors, the truly ordained ministers of Jesus Christ, whether bishops, priests, or deacons; sincerely declaring, that if any thing has dropped

from me that is contrary to the truth of Christianity, I do hereby recant it, and will do so in a more particular manner, as soon as I can discover my error.

And now, whether what I have said against ordinations and holy ministrations being nulled for want of baptism be true or no, if the invalidity of lay baptism be a truth, let every one take care to keep himself from, or extricate himself out of, the mischievous consequences of it. And if the nulling of holy orders and ministrations be a real consequence of this truth, then there is no other remedy but that those who are involved in it should extricate themselves out of it by episcopal baptism and reordination. It is not enough to say, that “this will involve the Church in the utmost confusion;” for want of baptism and a valid ministry is the most pernicious confusion, and infinitely greater than what can proceed from such persons receiving valid baptism and holy orders: and therefore, if the premises are true, the risk must be run; for truths of so great importance must not be stifled, and made to give way to supposed confusions; because, whatsoever mischief may arise can never be the result of divine truth (which is always good and beneficial), but of men’s sins and impieties, in usurping those sacred offices which they never received any commission to act in; so that those who value the order and peace of the Church ought not to disallow of the invalidity of lay baptism, upon the account of this consequence, but rather to inquire seriously whether divine revelation gives us

any foundation to believe that such baptisms are good and valid; and if they are not, whether the nulling of holy orders be a real consequence thereof; and if it be, they should assert and maintain it to the utmost of their power, nay, even to martyrdom itself, if the defending such a truth did expose them to it, rather than suffer themselves to be destitute both of a Christian priesthood and Christian baptism.

Obj. XI. But others say that, to avoid the fatal consequences of adhering too rigorously to this doctrine of lay baptisms being invalid, the authority of the powers hierarchical are very divine, and the same which Christ had, not to the violation of His laws, but to *dispense* with them to *edification*, for which they may be empowered to relax stated rules in cases that appear necessary or expedient. And that therefore, though heretical, schismatical, and mimical baptisms are done without, nay, and against the consent of the hierarchy, and therefore are not entire, or valid in themselves, yet they are made so on the post-fact by the spiritual powers, so far as that the external rite shall not be reiterated; but as to any spiritual graces, they are not to be had thereby, till those defective and irregular acts are supplied, righted, and confirmed, by the chrism of the bishop, or imposition of his hands, or such rite by which he shall fix the person baptised into a state of canonical union with the Church. So also the validity of lay baptism, as well to its internal as external privileges, stands on the authority of the Church's power to grant

such license to laymen in extremities. All which being considered, lay baptisms ought now to be acknowledged valid, especially to such as have been confirmed by the bishop.

Ans. This objection is, for the most part, in the very words of a learned and reverend opposer of one of the most poisonous books that, it may be, was ever suffered to be published in the Christian world, falsely intituled the *Rights of the Christian Church asserted.*¹ The worthy author, who has done the Church good service in answering that pernicious book, I dare say never designed that any thing in his most excellent book should be construed to favour our lay baptisms, which are evidently in opposition to the divine right of episcopacy, and for which our hierarchical powers have provided *no act of confirmation.* So that, in these nations, our lay baptisers and their proselytes can reap no benefit by any thing asserted in this objection.

I have already, under the corollary of the third proposition, declared my reasons against the dispensing power pleaded in this objection; to which I shall further add, that I acknowledge the divine powers of the hierarchy, but with this restriction, that since the settling of the canon of the holy Scriptures, they are for ever limited *in things fundamental* to that rule, from which they have no authority to deviate, and consequently not to dispense with any of the essentials of baptism, which, without all doubt, is

[¹ By Tindal. London, 1709.]

a fundamental of Christianity : such a dispensation must be a violation of Christ's law ; and how that should be to edification is inconceivable, since Christ, our great Lawgiver, has provided fundamentals sufficient for the edification of His Church, in all circumstances whatsoever ; and obedience to His laws about fundamentals is most certainly the best edification, otherwise He, who is Omniscient Wisdom itself, would never have made such laws. And therefore, with submission, there seems to be no necessity for empowering the governors of the Church "to relax his stated rules," no, not "in cases that appear necessary or expedient." Besides, if Christ has made stated rules for the essentials of Christian sacraments, without providing for such pretended cases of necessity, the hierarchical powers must certainly run a great hazard of sin in attempting to dispense with things for which He has made no provision ; and the persons dispensed with can have no just satisfaction in such dispensations ; especially when the seeming cause of them is removed, as it certainly is in the case of persons baptised by unauthorised laymen, contrary to the stated rule, who may afterwards obtain episcopal baptism agreeable to the law of Christ, if the hierarchical powers will but give them leave.

This I say in opposition to those who affirm that the hierarchical powers "*are actually endowed* with authority to dispense with Christ's laws, and to relax stated rules, in cases that appear necessary and expedient ;" which the learned author, whose words

they use, does not say. All that he intimates is only that they *may be* empowered to do so: which plainly shews that he would not venture to affirm that they really are; and it is reasonable to believe, that, upon second thoughts, he will not allow so much as that they *may be* so empowered: because what *may be*, *may not be*, as far as we know. Nay, it is more agreeable to revealed religion to say that they are not so empowered; because a thing of so great moment would never have been left out of the divine oracles, to be handed down to us through all ages by the *uncertain method* of oral tradition only. And therefore it is very unsafe for us to trust in such “*may be so*,” when the receiving, or not receiving, of spiritual supernatural privileges and benefits depends upon the truth or falsity of such a dispensing power, as it certainly does in the administration of Christian sacraments. “Heretical, schismatical, and mimical baptisms” are in this objection acknowledged to be “not entire or valid in themselves;” therefore in themselves they are utterly and entirely invalid, by the corollary of the third proposition. It is also said, that “as to any spiritual graces, they are not to be had thereby, till,” &c.; which is a plain indication, that of *themselves* they are of no efficacy to the purposes of Christian baptism; the administration whereof is certainly efficacious for the conveyance of spiritual graces. Again, they are called here “defective and irregular acts.” But why are they defective, except but for their being incapable

of producing the proper effects of true baptism? And why should they be termed irregular acts; except only but for being contrary to the stated rule, or, which is the same, the first institution of Christian baptism?

So that the external rite performed by these heretical, schismatical, and mimical baptisers, being thus acknowledged to be contrary to the institution of baptism, and utterly incapable in itself of being the means to convey any spiritual graces, what has it to do with Christian baptism? Certainly it must be a mere nullity, and all one as if it had never been performed: because, if it had no virtue to confer spiritual graces, it had no virtue to confer any benefit at all; for even the outward privileges are no privileges when separate from the spiritual graces. Thus, all persons on whom the said external rite was performed, can receive, by means thereof, none of the benefits of Christian baptism, which are all spiritual and supernatural; and consequently must remain in the state of the unbaptised, till they receive true Christian baptism; which, how they can receive, without repeating the external rite by a proper administrator, is utterly inconceivable. It is said, indeed, that “those defective and irregular acts (*i. e.* the external rites of those heretical, schismatical, and mimical baptisms,) are supplied, righted, and confirmed, by the chrism of the bishop, or imposition of his hands,” &c. For answer to which, I refer the reader to the corollary of the third proposition; and further add, that this is only said, and not proved;

and I believe never will, till it can be demonstrated that that which before was no baptism at all, in the Christian sense of the word, is now made true Christian baptism—without the act of baptismation—merely by the bishop's chrism, or imposition of his hands. Either the first external rite was the *one baptism* the Scripture speaks of, or it was not; if it was, then it was entire and valid baptism, and consequently wants no such act of the bishop to supply and right it; but if it was not that *one baptism*, then nothing can make it so but the very act of baptismation by a Christian minister: for it may with as much reason be affirmed that baptism is administered really and truly, by such acts of the bishop, to all other unbaptised persons, as well as to those; and so at last baptism itself will be rendered needless, when the want of it can be so easily supplied. But no less than a divine revelation will suffice to convince us that this is true; and till that is produced, we must continue to believe, that not all the acts of the highest created powers on earth are sufficient to make that which before was no baptism to become Christian baptism, without the act of baptismation by a proper minister, as Christ has appointed in the institution; and that consequently those who never received any other than lay baptism are still unbaptised, notwithstanding their being supposed to have been confirmed by the bishop.

Thus far, upon supposition that the ancient heretical and schismatical baptisms were of the same nature with those of unauthorised laymen's baptisms, which this objection seems to represent them to have

been ; because it says, that they were not valid in themselves—that no spiritual graces were to be had thereby, &c. Though, in truth, these heretical and schismatical baptisms were not of the same nature with unauthorised lay baptisms ; for they were performed by persons who had received episcopal ordination, and so were authorised to baptise. So that whatsoever was the fault of those baptisms, the churches who allowed them reckoned that they were valid in themselves, as wanting no essential part of the institution, though accidentally criminal, by reason of the uncharitableness of the separation of those heretics and schismatics who administered and received those baptisms. And during this uncharitableness, they reckoned that the baptised received no benefit by their baptism till they came into the unity of the Church ; when, upon their repentance of, and absolution from, the guilt of their uncharitable separation, by imposition of the bishop's hands, the obstacle was thought to be taken away, which before hindered the benefit of the sacrament, and so the graces due to their baptism, if it had been done in charity, and which were impeded and hindered by reason of their uncharitableness and sinful separation from the Church, upon their coming into her unity took place, and became effectual to their spiritual advantage. This was the opinion of those churches who allowed those baptisms to be valid in themselves. And how true this their opinion was, I am not concerned : because the baptisms I am disputing are not such heretical and schismatical bap-

tisms, but plainly unauthorised ; not only without any commission at all, but also in opposition to episcopacy itself, which those ancient churches never experienced, nor entered into any consultation about.

As for the validity of lay baptism, that it “ stands on the authority of the Church’s power to grant such license to laymen in extremities ;” when it can be proved that Christ has vested His Church with such a power, it will necessarily follow, that such authorised lay baptism, in cases of extremity, must be valid upon that foundation ; but even then our ordinary lay baptisms must be null and void, because they are destitute of the plea of necessity, and also of any such authority given them by the Church, in a country where Christian priests are to be had. And therefore it is in vain to claim any benefit from the supposed power of the Church ; because she herself is supposed not to have authority to exercise this power, except in *extremities*, which, God be praised, we do not yet labour under. But, after all, it is dangerous for the Church to give any such liberty to lay persons for cases of necessity, as some people call them ; because this would be an occasion of destroying the very unity of the Church, and expose her to the endless divisions and separations which heretics and schismatics would make from her. For if, by virtue of this supposed power, she should once make a canon to license laymen to administer valid baptism in cases of extremity, then such dividing heretics and schismatics, calling their pretended scruples

and tendernesses of conscience by the name of *cases of extremity*, would establish the validity of their lay administrations upon the authority of the Church from whom they separate, and vindicate their oppositions to her by the power which she, in such case, would be construed by implication to give unto them. And so every private person, after having blinded his understanding by hearkening to false teachers, might plead that he was under a *necessity* to separate from the Church, by reason that he cannot overcome his scruples about her doctrine and worship ; and therefore might join himself to any congregation he should like best, without the least fear of dividing from the Church ; because where true sacraments, with all the essentials relating thereto, and the word of God, are, there must be a true Church : and he could find proper sacraments administered in these new congregations, even by lay administrators, who would be presumed to act by the authority of the Church herself. This would be to build the Church and its unity upon so precarious a foundation, that we should not know what schism and causeless separation mean, though the Scripture¹ tells us there are and will be such sins ; and the apostle's pronouncing damnation upon those who are guilty of such sins (Gal. v. 20, 21) would have no force and efficacy upon men's consciences, if they should once persuade themselves, as they too often do, that they separate for necessity, and can, upon

[¹ 1 Cor. xi. 19.]

that very account, receive valid sacraments from lay hands. And then it will be in vain to say that such lay administrations must be confirmed by the bishop before they can be valid sacraments ; for it will be demanded, by what authority the bishop requires such administrations to be confirmed by him ? And if good testimonials from holy Scripture are not produced for this purpose, the bishop's supplying and righting such irregular acts will be made a jest of, and the separatists will conclude themselves as much in the Church as the bishop himself, while they administer and receive as good sacraments as he ; since he cannot prove their lay administrations necessary to be confirmed, righted, and supplied, by imposition of his hands, &c. On the contrary, if it had but been constantly asserted and defended, that the sacraments of the Christian Church are by institution of such a nature, that the Christian priesthood is one inseparable and essential relation to them, or that the divine authority of the administrator is *as much* and as durable a part of their institution as the very matter or outward elements of them ; if men had been always taught, that in the sacraments the priest is *as much* the representative of God the giver, as the outward elements are of the graces given, and that consequently these latter are no Christian sacraments when separate from God's authorised representative the priest ; and that the Church cannot, by any authority given to her, alter the nature of these things ;—if these topics had been constantly insisted

on, without trimming to please any party of heretics or schismatics whatsoever,—it is more than probable that men would have been much more tender of the unity of the Church, and more cautious of separating from her, than now we find they are; since how far soever their vain curiosity might have prompted them to have followed new-fangled lay teachers to please their itching ears; yet the consideration of their being destitute of *Christian sacraments* might have terrified them from withdrawing from the communion of the Christian priesthood, and thereby have prevented at least many of those final separations from the only salutary communion which abundance of poor wretches have fallen into, merely through the false notion of better edification, and vain belief of being sure to find true Christian sacraments in communion with their new set-up lay teachers. And it is justly to be feared that the continual separations from the Church in all ages, and particularly in ours, have chiefly sprung from this wretched opinion of the mere *opus operatum* of sacraments being real sacraments, whether administered by a priest or a layman; as if Christ's appointing the order of priesthood in the Christian Church signified nothing at all, notwithstanding it was the result of the most consummate wisdom of our great Lawgiver.

But because it is pleaded from Scripture-instances that cases of necessity and extremity have taken place of divine institutions, and that therefore baptism, in cases of extreme necessity, may be validly adminis-

tered by a layman, notwithstanding the institution requires it to be administered by a priest ; and forasmuch as many lay-baptised persons encourage themselves by supposing theirs to be a case of necessity, and consequently that they have received true Christian baptism ; I shall therefore, in answer to the next objection, shew that those instances produced from Scripture are not parallel to Christian baptism, and that there is nothing in them that can favour lay baptism, even in cases of the greatest extremity.

Obj. XII. In the institution of the passover it was appointed that the Jews should eat the paschal lamb *with their loins girded, their shoes on their feet, and their staff in their hand* (Exod. xii. 11), which signifies a standing posture. The Church of the Jews afterwards changed this posture into that of leaning, or lying along ; and our Saviour, finding this custom prevailed in His days, complied with it when He celebrated the passover (Matt. xxvi. 20). Which plainly shews that we may many times comply with the Church's changing even a divine institution for a human one ; and why not, therefore, with the Church's allowing of lay baptism in cases of necessity ? Again, our Saviour, reproving the Jews for their over-rigid niceness in observing the divine institution of the Sabbath, tells them *that David, when he had need, did take and eat the shewbread, and gave to them that were with him ; which was not lawful for him to eat, neither for them that were with him, but for the priests alone* (St. Matt. xii. 4, St. Mark ii. 25, 26), making David's

necessity a sufficient reason for dispensing, at that time, with God's own positive institution about the shewbread. And further, our blessed Lord, upon the same occasion reproving the Jews, says that *God will have mercy, and not sacrifice* (St. Matt. xii. 7). Which is sufficient to instruct us, that in cases of necessity the positive institutions of God Himself must be sometimes dispensed with for the supply of our wants, and consequently that baptism in cases of necessity, where a priest cannot be had, may be validly administered by a layman, to supply the spiritual wants of those who are unbaptised.

Ans. This objection consists of so many particulars, that it will be necessary for me to consider it in the same order wherein it lies. And,

1. The posture of standing to eat the paschal lamb was no more than a temporary institution, peculiar to the celebration of the first passover in Egypt, the very night the Jews were to depart out of that country. This is plain, from the reason of God's appointing them to eat it in such a posture of travellers in haste, viz. because He would *pass through the land of Egypt that night, and smite all the first-born in Egypt, both of man and beast* (ver. 12); which would have such an effect upon the Egyptians, that they would be very pressing and urgent upon the children of Israel to depart out of their country, to be rid of their company, for whose sake they had suffered so many and great plagues, and were now deprived of their first-born throughout all

their houses and families. (See Exod. xii. from verse 29 to verse 34.) And if the children of Israel had not been that night in such a travelling posture, they would not have been prepared for so sudden and hasty a departure as the distracted and terrified Egyptians obliged them to; whereby they might have been exposed to abundance of inconveniences, both from the fury of the Egyptians and their own unpreparedness for a midnight journey. And therefore, that they might not be thus incommoded, God required them to eat the paschal lamb *in haste, with their loins girded, their shoes on their feet, and their staff in their hand*, to be ready for their journey at any warning that should be given them that night. But after their departure the reason of this appointment ceased, and therefore so did the appointment itself, and consequently was no longer binding and obliging: and we never find this travelling posture repeated in any of the after-celebrations of the passover; but that it was only a temporary institution, peculiar to that first celebration, I appeal to the learned Jews, both ancient and modern, and also to our best commentators upon the place (see Bishop Patrick, Grotius, Diodati, Pool's *Synopsis*, &c.); to whom I refer the reader, that I may not be more prolix upon this subject.

The posture of standing, then, being not enjoined to be constantly used, was no essential part of the institution of the passover, and therefore it was afterwards indifferent what posture the Jews should eat the paschal lamb in. For which reason, their Church

certainly had power to appoint any innocent posture she should think fit ; and since leaning or lying along was determined by her, and prevailed in our Saviour's days, and He was pleased to conform to it, we ought to follow His example, in complying with such institutions of the Church as are not contrary to the law of God. But this instance does not allow us to comply with the Church's *changing* a divine institution for a human one, because the Church of the Jews did not herein *change* a divine into a human institution ; for the posture of standing was then no divine appointment, because not essential to the passover ; and therefore the Church of the Jews did not *change* this into another ceremony, but *appoint* the indifferent ceremony of lying or leaning, when there was no divine institution at that time obliging them to any other posture.

And therefore we ought not, from the authority of this instance, to comply with the Church's allowing of lay baptism in cases of necessity ; because baptism by a *priest* is essential to Christian baptism, and as much obliging as the institution of *water* itself during the utmost term of the Christian dispensation, as I have proved under the first and second propositions. And a layman's baptising to confer supernatural benefits is *no indifferent circumstance* in the power of man to determine and appoint, as was the posture of lying or leaning along, when the Church of the Jews appointed it ; and therefore, from that Church's example and our Saviour's con-

formity thereto, no argument can be drawn to support the validity of lay baptism, even in cases of greatest necessity; because the quality of the person who is authorised to baptise for supernatural purposes is determined by no other than a mere positive divine institution. And no case of necessity whatsoever can determine any other means for the conveyance of supernatural benefits than what are already revealed to us, except God shall be pleased to make some new revelation of His will for such a purpose.

2. As for the instance of David and his men's eating the shewbread; lest men should from hence encourage themselves to break through all the divine laws to supply their necessities, it is necessary to consider what circumstances of necessity will excuse our breaking a mere positive institution of religion.

First, then, considering that all God's positive institutions are appointed for our obedience, nothing can excuse us from the breach of any one of them but some other *more incumbent* duty, which, at the same time, stands in competition with the positive duty.

Secondly, the means of supplying our necessities must either be such as are of a natural efficiency, or else efficacious by virtue of a divine institution, administered just as God Himself has appointed.

Both these circumstances concurred in David and his men's eating the shewbread, and not one of them is to be found in lay baptism. For,

1. Though by the positive law it was not lawful

for any but the priests to eat it, yet by the law of nature and revealed religion too, it was necessary to feed the necessitous hungry ; and David and his men wanting bread, and there being at that time no other to supply their necessity (1 Sam. xxi. 6), the priest gave him the hallowed bread, that so the law of charity to the lives of men, enforced by a double obligation, viz. by the law of nature and of revealed religion, might take place of the mere positive law about the shewbread, which had no other obligation than from the positive institution only, with which the said law of charity stood at that time in competition. And this is exactly agreeable to what the learned Dr. Hammond says,¹ in his paraphrase upon St. Matthew xii. 3, 4, which, because so very apposite to this purpose, I shall here transcribe for the reader's information. His words are these : " Remember the story of David (1 Sam. xxi. 6), and by that you will discern that the case of hunger was excepted and reserved in the law concerning holy days or things. For there David and his company, being pressed with hunger, were by the priest allowed to eat the shewbread ; which, being consecrated, did particularly belong to the priest (Levit. xxiv. 9), yet might, it seems, by the intention of the lawgiver, be by him employed in any charitable use for the relief of others, as long as there were more ready consecrated for the sacred uses (1 Sam. xxi. 5). And accordingly, though

[¹ Works, vol. iii. p. 64.]

the priest pretended not to dispense with any (so much as ritual) part of God's law (as appears by the exception interposed by him, verse 4, *if the young men have kept themselves from women*), yet he doubts not to give them freely of the consecrated bread; thereby assuring us that it was as lawful for the priest to give some part of the consecrated bread to relieve the hungry as to eat it himself: and so that, in the law of holy things not being touched by any but the priests, the case of hunger or distress was reserved, in which it might by the priest be lawfully given to others." Thus far that learned author. But nothing of all this occurs in lay baptism; for the positive law requires that baptism should be administered by a priest of God's appointment; and there is no law of but equal, much less of greater, obligation, that requires a layman to baptise at all. Natural religion does not oblige him to baptise, because baptism is no part of natural religion; and as for revealed religion, that has not required him to baptise; and therefore, in cases of greatest necessity, if he does baptise, he acts without any duty incumbent on him, contrary to a positive institution, which is no ways consistent with this instance of David and his men.

2. The means of supplying the necessity of David and his men was bread, which has a natural physical efficiency to satisfy hunger, and consequently to preserve human life; but baptism has no natural physical power to convey to us the forgiveness of

sins, and the gift of the Holy Ghost. Its efficacy for such supernatural purposes depends only on a positive institution, and therefore is not at all parallel to the instance of the shewbread ; and consequently, under this second rule, nothing can be inferred from David and his men's eating that bread to a layman's administering valid baptism, because they are things of quite different natures and effects, and no ways applicable to one another. So that to bring lay baptism to this second rule, it must be proved efficacious by virtue of a divine institution, administered just as God Himself has appointed. But this can never be done, because there is no divine institution of lay baptism.

In short, to sum up all that I have said, or need to say, about this instance of the shewbread ; bread, before it was set apart for sacred uses, was common for all men to eat for the satisfying of their hunger, but the administration of baptism for supernatural purposes was never thus common. The priests' giving the shewbread, when no other was to be had, was then an act of charity, to which he was obliged by the very law of nature, enforced by the revealed will of God. But lay baptism is no duty incumbent on us, either by the law of nature or revealed religion : the law of nature dictates nothing to us about baptism for supernatural purposes, and revealed religion is wholly silent about lay baptism for such ends. The shewbread had a physical natural efficiency to satisfy hunger and preserve life, and therefore the

priest had encouragement to give it, because he had no reason to doubt of its good effect: but baptism has no natural physical efficiency for supernatural and spiritual graces,—its effects are purely owing to a positive institution only,—and therefore we have no encouragement to hope for its effects, when the institution is not observed in all its essential parts, as it certainly is not when a layman administers. Further, in the eating of the shewbread there was no contradiction; the priest did not give it to be eaten contrary to the positive institution, with a design, by so doing, to observe the same positive institution. But in lay baptism there is a perfect contradiction: the positive institution of baptism is broken, that, by so doing, the same positive institution may be observed and kept whole. From all which it is very clear and evident, that the eating of the shewbread, and the administration of valid baptism, in cases of necessity, by a layman, are things infinitely different in their nature, and consequently not at all applicable the one to the other. To which I beg leave to add, that the eating of the shewbread was *no authoritative administration* for the conveyance of supernatural graces, as valid baptism most certainly is; and therefore it is no wonder that God put a good construction upon David and his men's eating that bread to satisfy their hunger, when no other was to be had, and yet upon all occasions severely punished the sacrilegious usurpations of every one that attempted to officiate in such authori-

tative administrations as He had appointed for the conveyance of spiritual benefits. The great necessities that urged them thus to officiate were never admitted nor allowed of, so much as but to mitigate their crime, much less to make their administrations valid. This is apparently evident in the case of Saul's taking upon him to offer a sacrifice in his great distress, when his enemies were coming upon him, when he might have been slain before he could make his peace with God, when the priest Samuel was not present; when he had waited and strove so long, that he at last forced himself to offer a sacrifice to procure the divine favour. We see that all this *necessity* and the *absence of the priest*, this eager desire to obtain a blessing, was no excuse for his assuming the priest's office: God would and did punish him for it, by rending the kingdom from him, and giving it to another, as you may see in 1 Sam. xiii. This is a standing example, upon which we should always fix our eyes, and thereby learn that, however God may excuse in some cases of necessity, He will never do it in such great instances as the taking upon ourselves to administer, or willingly concurring with those who do minister, in the priest's office, without being *called of God, as was Aaron.*¹

3. As for that other text, where it is said, *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice,*² it will as little serve for the validity of lay baptism as the rest. For the occasion of our Saviour's using those words, and the place

[¹ Heb. v. 4.]

[² Matt. ix. 13 and xii. 7.]

of Scripture from whence He quoted them,¹ do evidently prove that the design of this text is only to convince us that such positive institutions, as are here called by the name of *sacrifice*, were never appointed to frustrate and make void our obligation to the genuine moral duties of natural religion, particularly those of justice and equity, and of compassion and charity to the necessities and wants of our fellow-creatures ; but that, on the contrary, our want of such excellent moral virtues, and our being of an unjust, uncharitable, and cruel temper, will make those positive duties, when performed by us, both loathsome and abominable in the sight of God.

This, I say, is evident,—first, from the occasion of our Saviour's referring the Jews to that text, *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice*. For the disciples, being hungry, plucked the ears of corn on the Sabbath-day ; which the Pharisees observing, affirmed that it was a breach of the Sabbath, and therefore unlawful for them to do at that time. But our Saviour, Who very well knew the barbarous cruelty of their temper, bid them remember the case of David and his men's eating the shewbread, &c.; and then tells them, *If ye had known what this meaneth, I will have mercy, and not sacrifice, ye would not have condemned the guiltless* (St. Matt. xii. 7) : whereby He proved the innocence of His disciples, that they had not at all broken the Sabbath by thus plucking the ears of corn to assuage their hunger ; and that consequently the

[¹ Hos. vi. 6.]

moral duties of mercy and works of absolute necessity were never intended, by the positive institution of the Sabbath, to be reckoned as breaches of the duty of rest, which God required on that holy day.

Secondly, the place of Scripture from whence our Lord quoted those words is Hosea vi. 6 : *I desired mercy, and not sacrifice.* This does not mean, that God did not require sacrifice; for it is plain that He did require it, and all other positive duties signified by that general word; and the Jews, at that very time, were bound to observe and obey all the positive institutions of the Mosaic law, under no less penalty than that of *cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them* (Deuteronomy xxvii. 26) : so that the *not sacrifice* here must mean, *not only sacrifice*, or *not sacrifice alone*; and therefore the plain paraphrase of this text is, “I desired or required *not only sacrifice*—not only your obedience to My mere positive institutions, but also your observance of My moral law of mercy and kindness.” It was the want of this and other moral virtues, together with their being guilty of cruel murders, robberies, and other immoralities, that God complained of, almost throughout this whole chapter, and for which He abhorred their very sacrifices, though they were of His own appointment, and they were then bound and obliged to offer them to Him. This is also confirmed by Micah vi. and Isa. i. 11-15, &c. All which, being duly considered, sufficiently declares the sense and meaning of—I will have mercy, and

not sacrifice, that the design thereof is not to make void our obligation to obey the divine positive institutions, but to convince us that the moral duties of natural religion, reinforced by divine revelation, are so far from being inconsistent with, that they must constantly accompany and attend our obedience to such positive institutions, and that our approaches to God in His positive institutions, without such moral virtues, are so far from being accepted, that they are hated and abhorred by Him.

And therefore all that, at most, can be inferred from those words of our Saviour is, that when a mere positive institution stands in necessary competition with a moral duty of natural religion, reinforced by divine revelation, then the mere positive institution must give way to the moral duty for that time and circumstance.

Now, then, to try to apply this to the case before us. There is a divine positive institution requiring baptism to be administered by one who has Christ's commission for so doing. This baptism is appointed to be a means of conferring such merciful graces and benefits as our miserable nature could never have made any claim or title to, and which all the powers of nature could never have bestowed on us. It happens that a person wanting these inestimable benefits most earnestly desires to obtain them by baptism; but a minister with Christ's commission is neither now nor likely hereafter to be had: what then must be done in this extreme necessity? Why, says the

objector, *God will have mercy, and not sacrifice*; and therefore, since sacrifice now stands in competition with mercy, the sacrifice must give way to mercy; the divine authority of the administrator must not now be insisted on; but the mercies and favours must be bestowed on the person by a layman's administering baptism to him. This seems to be well said; but, upon examination, it will be found that no such thing can be justly inferred from this text, because, the mercy there spoken of is a moral duty of natural religion, and to be extended to the indigent and necessitous by natural means; but the mercies to be received by Christian baptism are infinitely above all natural religion, and consequently not to be conveyed by any natural means. The reason why we are obliged to perform those natural acts of mercy, even when they seem to run counter to some mere positive institution, is because natural conscience dictates this duty, and divine revelation has reinforced its obligation; whereas we are bound to observe a positive institution merely upon the account of a divine law promulgled to us, without which we could never have been obliged to the observation of it. But this reason is wholly wanting in lay baptism; for natural conscience dictates nothing to us about bestowing of supernatural mercies by means of any kind of baptism whatsoever; and as for revealed religion, that is wholly silent about a layman's being ever capable of conveying such mercies to us by means of baptism: so that the layman has this duty incumbent on him

neither by the law of nature, nor of divine revelation ; and therefore, if he baptises for spiritual purposes, that he may shew mercy, he ventures to do otherwise than the positive institution of baptism requires, and at the same time is destitute of any the least encouragement from the text objected ; because there is no law, either natural or revealed, that obliges him so to do.

But further : when God will have mercy, and not sacrifice, it is not intended that one or more essential parts of a mere positive institution should be more necessary and obliging to us than the other essential parts thereof ; no, all that God then requires of us is, to prefer a moral before a mere positive duty, as is evident from what I have already said on this subject. But our assertors of the validity of lay baptism in cases of necessity do unavoidably run themselves into this inconsistency, of making one or more essential parts of a mere positive institution to be of greater necessity and obligation than another essential part of the same institution ; for they make water and the form of baptism to be more necessary and obliging than the divine authority of the administrator. But this notion I have already endeavoured to confute in the second proposition, to which I refer the reader ; and desire him here to observe how very disagreeable this is with God's requiring mercy, a moral duty, and not sacrifice, a mere positive one. For it is in effect to make God say, instead of, *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice*, “ I will have sacrifice, and not sacrifice ; ”

since there is not one of those essential parts of baptism but what is merely of positive institution. This of making one essential part of such an institution to give way to the other essential parts thereof, in cases of necessity, without a particular revelation of God's will for so doing, is so strange, so unscriptural a practice, that there is not one example of it in all the sacred writings of the Old and New Testament, from the first chapter of Genesis to the last of the Revelation ; but, on the contrary, we have a flagrant instance of God's punishing this practice in the person of Saul, who in his *necessity*, that he might obtain *mercy*, made one essential part of a positive institution to give way to another of its essential parts. For the priest, one essential part of the positive institution of burnt-offerings being absent, he reckoned the burnt-offering to be more essential than the administration of the priest, and therefore offered a burnt-offering himself ; for which rash action, Samuel said to him, *Thou hast done foolishly* (*i. e.* wickedly) ; *thou hast not kept* (but hast broken) *the commandment of the Lord thy God*, &c.—*Thy kingdom shall not continue*, &c. (1 Sam. xiii. 11-14.) Here his endeavour to obtain mercy by means of but part of a mere positive duty is, notwithstanding the urgency of his necessitous circumstances, branded with the name of a *foolish* (wicked) action ; and because it was not attended with the other essential part, viz. the ministration of the priest, was so far from being esteemed a valid offering to God, that it proved, instead of a means of mercy, a

judgment and a curse to the offerer and his posterity.

Thus we see that, though God will have us sometimes extend our mercy rather than offer sacrifice, yet when *mercy* is to be obtained *from Him* by means of sacrifice, *i. e.* such mere positive duties as He has required, He will not grant us the mercy we sue for by means of but part of such sacrifice. No ; we must either beg it of Him by our observance of the whole institution, or else, when we *cannot* have the whole, sit down contented till we can ; since He has declared His abhorrence of such partial sacrifices, and thereby taught us that they are no sacrifices at all. It is worth while to observe here what Samuel tells Saul, after he had reproved him for breaking God's commandment about burnt-offerings. *For now*, says he, *would the Lord have established thy kingdom upon Israel for ever* (1 Sam. xiii. 13) : as much as if he had said, “ If thou hadst not attempted to gain the divine favour by so unwarrantable an action ; if thou hadst been patient in thy necessity, and not endeavoured to render God propitious to thee by such an unlawful method ; He is a God of mercy, and would not have imputed sin to thee for want of a burnt-offering, when it could not be had according to His institution ; but, on the contrary, would have esteemed thy not meddling therein to be an act of obedience to His command ; and consequently, though there had been no burnt-offering made to Him, would have been gracious and merciful to thee, and thy children after

thee ; and, as a reward of thy faith and obedience, would have established the kingdom to thee and thy sons for ever.” This, I say, is plainly the scope and meaning of Samuel’s words to Saul ; whereby we also are encouraged not to distrust the divine goodness, but constantly and patiently to wait and pray for it, without presuming to endeavour to obtain it by partial sacrifice, when we are under such sad circumstances as not to be able to seek for it by whole burnt-offerings. When we cannot have *entire baptism*, according to the institution ; when there is no priest to administer it to us ; then it is a greater act of faith and obedience to refuse than to accept of supposed baptism from a lay hand. Nay, for one who knows the nature and extent of the institution of Christian baptism to accept of, or acquiesce in, lay baptism in cases of supposed necessity, it is a great presumption ; because it is expecting God’s mercy to be conveyed by such hands as He has not appointed for that purpose, and to whose ministration He never required our obedience : it is the superstition of making that absolutely necessary to salvation which God has not made so : as if, when we *want* those means which He has appointed, He could not extend His favours and graces without them ; as if there were a greater degree of holiness in water and a form of words than in the institution of the Christian priesthood ; as if none could be saved without the former, but every body without the latter ; as if water could be a means of graces given, without the mediation of one who

does truly personate God the giver. In short, it is superstition, nay, and presumption too, to expect mercy by means of but *part* of a sacrifice, when God appointed that the *whole* should be the means of obtaining that mercy. And it is so exactly parallel to Saul's case, and so infinitely different from the design of the text objected, that we may very fairly conclude that lay baptism cannot be valid, even in cases of necessity. It cannot be sufficient "to supply the spiritual wants of those who are unbaptised," because there is no comparison between the natural means of administering to the ordinary wants of the necessitous and indigent, and the supernatural appointed means of supplying the spiritual wants of the unbaptised; for these latter are of so extraordinary a nature, that no less than mercies supernatural are sufficient for so great a purpose; and therefore no other method must be used to obtain such mercies than what He who is to bestow them has appointed. Obedience in this case is better than sacrifice; especially than such a false burnt-offering as Saul, in the instance above mentioned, presumed to offer to God. And may we all take warning by his punishment, not to confine God to our will-worship; not to meddle in His positive institutes, and expect that He should concur with our foolish and presumptuous interposing in such ministrations as He has confined to the authority and administration of His and His Christ's appointed priests and ministers only.

Obj. XIII. The Exposition of the Thirty-nine

Articles of the Church, which goes under the name of G[ilber]t [Burnet] B[isho]p of S[aru]m, has this remarkable passage upon the twenty-third article, pages 259 and 260 [341, 342, Oxford edit. 1831], viz. “ It is to be considered that the high-priest among the Jews was the chief person in that dispensation ; not only the chief in rule, but he that was by the divine appointment to officiate in the chief act of their religion—the yearly expiation for the sins of the whole nation—by which atonement was made for the sins of that people. *Here it may be very reasonably suggested*, that since none besides the high-priest might make this atonement, then no atonement was made, if any other besides the high-priest should so officiate. To this it is to be added, that God had by an *express law* fixed the high-priesthood in the *eldest* of Aaron’s family ; and that therefore, though, that being a theocracy, any prophet empowered of God might have transferred this office from one person or branch of that family to another, yet without such an authority, no other person might make any such change. But after all this—not to mention the Maccabees, and all their successors of the Asmonean family—as Herod had begun to change the high-priesthood at pleasure, so the Romans not only continued to do this, but, in a most mercenary manner, they set this sacred function to sale. Here were as great nullities in the high-priests that were in our Saviour’s time as can be well imagined to be ; for the Jews, keeping their genealogies so exactly as they

did, it could not but be well known in whom the right to this office rested, and they all knew that he who had it purchased it ; yet these were, in fact, high-priests ; and since the people could have *no other*, the atonement was still performed by their ministry. Our Saviour owned Caiaphas, the sacrilegious and usurping high-priest (John xviii. 22, 23), and as such he prophesied (John xi. 51). This shews that where the necessity was real and unavoidable, the Jews were bound to think that God did, in consideration of that, dispense with His own precept. This may be a just inducement for us to believe that whensoever God, by His providence, brings Christians under a visible necessity of being either without all order and joint worship, or of joining in an unlawful and defiled worship ; or, finally, of breaking through rules and methods, in order to the being united in worship and government ; that of these three, of which one must be chosen, the last is the least evil, and has the fewest inconveniences hanging upon it ; and that therefore it may be chosen.” Thus far the expositor. After whom comes another writer, and applies all this to the positive ministrations of the Christian priesthood ; and from hence would conclude that the baptisms of our anti-episcopal dissenters, and of some foreigners who are destitute of episcopal ordination, ought to be esteemed good and valid. And so great a stress does he lay upon our expositor’s judgment in this matter, that he gives us this great encomium upon the above-said passage, in these words : “ This

is an argument urged by the good Bishop of Sarum, in his Articles, in this very case I am arguing upon, and it is *so full* to the purpose, that I do not think it *capable* of an answer."

Ans. Because this objection is authorised by so great a name, and boasted to be so very full to the purpose, I shall endeavour to refute it in a double respect. First, upon supposition, though not granting, that all things asserted by the expositor concerning the Jewish high-priesthood and atonement were exactly as he in his Articles has represented them ; and secondly, upon account of the real truth of those matters of fact related by the expositor, concerning the institution and change of the high-priesthood.

First, though all things concerning the Jewish high-priesthood and atonement were exactly as the expositor has represented them, yet it will not follow from thence that unauthorised baptisms, such as those mentioned in the objection, are good and valid, because the Christian Church never was yet reduced to the supposed miserable state of the Jewish Church, and indeed never will be ; for the supposed usurpation affected the whole Church of the Jews ; because the atonement by the Jewish high-priest could only be made in that one place called the holy of holies, which was in the temple at Jerusalem : even a true high-priest could not do it in any other part of the world ; so that, when a usurper had got possession of the temple, and was by force of the civil power maintained therein, the Jews, if they had adhered to

the true high-priest, could have had no benefit by his ministration of an atonement, because he could have made no atonement for them, being forcibly kept out of the holy of holies. But the ministrations of the Christian priesthood are not so confined to place, they are equally valid over the face of the whole earth; so that if wicked civil powers in one country should banish or destroy Christian high-priests, the bishops, yet still God's promise of being with His apostles, His high-priests, to the end of the world, and that the gates of hades shall not prevail against His Church, secures us thus much, that this destruction of our Christian high-priests shall not be universal; some shall be found on earth with powers to give valid ordination: if they are destroyed in one dominion, they will be found in another; and the ministration of baptism by those who are ordained by them will be valid in every place: which is a very different case from that of the Jewish priesthood.

But, further; the objection does not come up to the point, in the matter before us: it is not sufficient to justify the anti-episcopal usurpations of Protestants, who dare not communicate with the Church of Rome, by reason of her intolerable corruptions in doctrine and worship; for even in the worst times of popery, they that reformed without bishops to head them might, if they would, have procured ministers to be ordained by *reformed* bishops in England, if their own corrupt bishops refused to ordain them. And it is not sufficient to object, that the labour and

travel, &c. thus to obtain valid ordination is excessive great, and in many circumstances next to impossible ; for men can easily remove these obstacles ; these mighty imaginary mountains of trouble and danger are no hindrance to them, when they are eagerly bent after health, pleasure, or worldly riches ; then the remotest Indies are not too far for them to travel ; the dreadful dangerous wonders of the deep do not terrify them ; the fear of robbers and pirates, nay, of merciless murderers too, does not hinder their eager pursuit after perishing treasures, and many times foolish trifles. And is not a valid ministry vastly preferable to these ? Are not the divine institutions unspeakably more advantageous, nay, infinitely richer, as they convey and insure to us inestimable treasures, of eternal extent and duration ? Certainly they are ; and therefore no pains, no industry, how great soever, can be too much, since it is no less than our duty, by all possible means, to procure and obtain them ; so that, whatsoever validity may be supposed to have been in the ministration of the Jewish usurping high-priest, the Church of the Jews, being by the hypothesis absolutely deprived of any recourse to, or dependence on, the true one, can by no means be applied to usurping laymen's ministrations in the Christian Church ; because the Church, where such laymen pretend to minister, is not universally deprived of any recourse to, or dependence on, true Christian high-priests ; they may procure ordination from some or other of them ; they may have consequently in-

stituted ministrations, if they will take pains to obtain them, which, upon the present supposition, the Jews could not obtain with all their power; because the atonement could be made only at the one altar, in the *sanctum sanctorum* at Jerusalem, from which the instituted high-priest was, by supposition, forcibly kept by the secular power of the Romans. And therefore the baptisms here pleaded for, being not parallel to the supposed case of the atonement, because baptism can be had as it was instituted, which the atonement, it is supposed, could not,—must not be allowed to be valid, as the atonement is supposed to have been. And much less can it, from this instance be inferred, that baptism by our anti-episcopal dissenters is valid; for they, unauthorised, attempt this, even where our Christian high-priests are in the actual execution of their office; and they aim at the priesthood itself, in opposition to, and rebellion against, the vicarious power of Christ, in those Christian bishops to whom they owe subjection, and from whose hands they ought, and yet refuse, to receive authority for such ministrations; which is so monstrous an attempt of usurpation, and the persisting in, concurring with, and encouraging of it, so perversely impious, that the Church was never, till within these last two hundred years, exercised with the like flagitious wickedness. And therefore our expositor's own condition, of God's acceptance of such uninstituted ministrations, will not here take place; for his proviso is this, that the people could have no other, and that the necessity was real

and unavoidable among the Jews; but it is not so among Christians. It never was, nor ever will be so, for the reasons I have mentioned. And his supposing “Christians to be brought by God’s providence under a visible necessity of . . . breaking through rules and methods, in order to the being united in worship and government,” is not sufficient to make valid the uninstituted ministrations of any number of men, from this supposed instance of the Jewish Church, till the imagined necessity of those men can be proved to be as real and unavoidable, and as universal too, as that of the Jewish Church is here represented to have been. Though, after all, the case was otherwise in that Church; for notwithstanding the wickedness of Herod and the Roman governors, and of the Jews too, in disposing of the high-priesthood, the essential institution of that high-priesthood was not vacated. For,

Secondly, though our expositor says that “God had by *an express law* fixed the high-priesthood in *the eldest* of Aaron’s family,” I must crave leave to say that this express law is not to be discovered in the canon of holy Scripture. There we find the institution of the Jewish high-priesthood to have been expressly in Aaron and his sons. For thus says God to Moses, *Take thou unto thee Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him, from among the children of Israel, that he may minister unto Me in the priest’s office.—And thou shalt make holy garments for Aaron thy brother, for glory and for beauty* (Exod. xxviii. 1, 2). The description

of those glorious garments is in the following part of that chapter; and they were appointed to be worn by him when he went into the holy place, *i. e.* within the vail. Then, at verse 40, the 'coats, girdles, and bonnets for Aaron's sons are appointed ; and, ver. 41, God says to Moses, concerning Aaron's garments and his sons' coats, &c. *Thou shalt put them upon Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him; and shalt anoint them, and consecrate them, and sanctify them, that they may minister unto Me in the priest's office.* And (ver. 42 and 43) *thou shalt make them linen breeches, to cover their nakedness, &c.* And they shall be upon Aaron, and upon his sons, when they come in unto the tabernacle of the congregation, or when they come near unto the altar to minister in the holy place. It shall be a statute for ever unto him, and his seed after him. Again, Exod. xl. 13-15, God commands Moses to put upon Aaron the holy garments, and anoint him, &c. And to bring his sons, and clothe them,—and anoint them,—that they may minister in the priest's office : for their anointing shall surely be an everlasting priesthood throughout their generations. In chap. xvi. of Leviticus we have an exact description of the atonement, and of the high-priest's ministration thereof in the holy place once a year, and not one word of Aaron's *eldest son*, but indefinitely, in ver. 32, it is said, *And the priest, whom he shall anoint, and whom he shall consecrate to minister in the priest's office in his father's stead, shall make the atonement;* and ver. 34, *This shall be an everlasting statute unto Me, to*

make an atonement, &c. Further, Lev. xxi. 10, God speaks of the high-priest without any particular designation of the eldest to that office; *he that is the high-priest among his brethren, &c.* So Numbers iii. 10, *Thou shalt appoint Aaron and his sons, and they shall wait on their priest's office, and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.* Likewise, Numb. xviii. 1, *The Lord spake unto Aaron, Thou, and thy sons with thee, shall bear the iniquity of your priesthood.* And, ver. 7, *Thou, and thy sons with thee, shall keep your priest's office for every thing of the altar, and within the vail, and ye shall serve: I have given your priest's office unto you, as a service of gift, and the stranger that cometh nigh shall be put to death.* Thus we see that the high-priesthood was, by express law, in Aaron and his sons, and no mention made that it should be and remain in the line of the eldest son only.

I know it will be answered, that God Himself commanded Moses to consecrate Eleazar, the eldest son of Aaron, to be high-priest in the stead of his father (Numb. xx. 25-27), and that therefore the law confined the high-priesthood to the eldest son's line.

In return to this, no one will deny so plain a matter of fact as that of Eleazar's succession to the high-priesthood, and that it was by the express command of God; but the consequence which the objector draws from this particular instance is not to be allowed, because the standing law about the high-

priesthood is, that it shall be in Aaron and his sons. And there is another law concerning the same office, that excludes the eldest, as well as any other of Aaron's sons, from that great dignity, if he should chance to have any impediment mentioned in that law; for, says God unto Moses (Lev. xxi. 17 to the 23d), *Speak unto Aaron, saying: Whosoever he be of thy seed in their generations that hath any blemish, let him not approach to offer the bread of his God; for whatsoever man he be that hath a blemish, he shall not approach: a blind man, or a lame, or he that hath a flat nose, or any thing superfluous, or a man that is broken-footed, or broken-handed, or crook-backed, or a dwarf, or that hath a blemish in his eye, or be scurvy or scabbed, &c. No man that hath a blemish of the seed of Aaron the priest shall come nigh to offer the offerings of the Lord made by fire: he hath a blemish, &c.; he shall not go in unto the vail, nor come nigh unto the altar, because he hath a blemish.* This is positive and express; and it cannot be fairly affirmed that God would secure all the eldest sons from every one of these blemishes, that they might minister before Him within the vail. This is not to be supposed, that God would always interpose on behalf of them only, and give them no promise of such His more than ordinary, no less than miraculous, providence over their particular persons. So far is He from giving them this security, that He says, *Whosoever, whatsoever man he be of thy seed in their generations that hath a blemish, he shall not go in unto the vail.* As much

as if He had said, even the otherwise most-esteemed person of the seed of Aaron, whether for being the first-born, or the chief for wisdom, knowledge, &c., if he hath a blemish, he shall not be high-priest, nor make an atonement before Me. One of these blemishes might have happened to the eldest, as well as to another; and therefore God's appointing Eleazar, the eldest son of Aaron, to succeed his father in the high-priest's office, is no argument that it was a standing law of God, that this office was always to remain confined to the eldest of Aaron's sons. And since any of those sons might happen to have a blemish, therefore God made no express law, as our expositor says He did, to *fix* the high-priesthood in the *eldest* of Aaron's family; for the law expressly fixed it in Aaron and his sons, that if one of them had any blemish, or indeed any other impediment, another son might validly enter into the holy place. For the atonement was expressly commanded to be made once a year, and it must not have been omitted to be made, even though the high-priest in possession had chanced to have a blemish, as long as another son of Aaron was to be had, and a vail or holy place was in being, until the coming of the great High-priest, Christ Jesus; for, says the law, *This shall be an everlasting statute unto you* (*i. e.* everlasting till the coming of Christ), *to make an atonement for the children of Israel, for all their sins, once a year* (Lev. xvi. 34). Which could not have been obeyed, if none but the eldest of Aaron's family must, by the law, have entered within the vail,

and if he had been, at the same time, so blemished as that he might not enter therein. For the atonement must, in such case, have ceased to be performed during the life of such a high-priest; which is contrary to the express law, that required it to be constantly made once a year; and therefore the high-priesthood was not by express law fixed in the eldest of Aaron's family. This we find, in fact, to have been true; for the Scripture records several high-priests who were not of the line of Eleazar the eldest, but of Ithamar, the younger son of Aaron. For example: Eli, in the time of the judges (1 Sam. ii. 27, 30); Ahiah, *i. e.* Ahimelech, in the reign of King Saul (1 Sam. xiv. 3, xxi. 1, and xxii. 16), called also Abiathar the high-priest (St. Mark ii. 26), whom King Saul slew. So likewise another Ahimelech, in the reign of King David (2 Sam. viii. 17), and in the reign of King Solomon, Abiathar.¹ These, it is plain, were not of the line of Eleazar; for his sons are mentioned particularly by name (1 Chron. vi.), and not one of these high-priests is reckoned among them: yet they executed the office, and no mark of infamy is set upon them for so doing, because they were not the strangers, who by the law of Moses were to die for coming within the vail; for they were of the sons of Aaron. And certainly, if they had been invaders of the high-priesthood, God would have given us some notice of His dispensing with His own supposed law, or else some mark of His displeasure at their

[¹ 1 Kings ii. 26.]

usurpation ; to have warned others from the like sin for the future : as He did upon King Saul, for but offering a burnt-offering, when he had no authority to do so, being no priest.

This argument might be prosecuted much further ; but I think enough has been said to prove that God did not, by an express law, fix the high-priesthood in the eldest of Aaron's family :¹ and therefore, when

[¹ It would be only fair, however, to produce Lightfoot's authority on this point (*English Works*, vol. i. p. 904. edit. 1684).

"The high-priesthood still descended to the first-born . . . and, by this necessity of succession, it came to pass that sometimes the high-priest proved to be but meanly qualified for such an office . . . When Simeon the Just, having two sons, Shimei and Onias, would have put Shimei the eldest by, and put Onias the younger in, he could not do it, but Shimei obtained his right, and Onias was put to flee into Egypt, where he built a sumptuous and famous temple. . . The catalogue and succession of the high-priests are thus given in Scripture : 1. Aaron ; 2. Eleazar ; 3. Phinehas ; 4. Abishua ; 5. Bukki ; 6. Uzzi ; 7. Zerahiah ; 8. Merajoth,—here the high-priesthood changed from the line of Eleazar into the line of Ithamar ; 9. Eli of Ithamar ; 10. Phinehas ; 11. Ahitub ; 12. Ahimelech, or Ahiah ; 13. Abiathar. In the time of these high-priests of the house of Ithamar there were three successions in the line of Eleazar : Amariah (1 Chron. vi. 7), Ahitub, and Zadok (2 Sam. viii. 17). Now whereas it is said, in the place last cited, that Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were priests, it is to be understood, as the like is in 1 Sam. i. 3, of Hophni and Phinehas, that they were priests unto the Lord, chief among the priests, and chief overseers in the constant service and matters of the

any other of Aaron's sons got into the high-priesthood, the essential law of God concerning the high-priesthood, which required that it should be in Aaron and his sons, was not vacated. And this was the case of the Maccabees, and all their successors of the Asmonean family; they were of the sons of Aaron, and therefore valid high-priests; because the institution required that a priest of the sons of Aaron should be anointed and consecrated high-priest, and that no other should be so.

To come now to the high-priests in Herod's and the Romans' time,—they were also of the sons of Aaron; for, notwithstanding the wickedness of setting that office to sale, &c., Josephus assures us that it was done with this particular regard, that those who obtained it were in holy orders. His words are these: “Herod having now received the kingdom from the Romans, made no longer any scruple of

sanctuary, but their father Eli was high-priest. So in the beginning of David's settlement in his kingdom, Abiathar was chief priest, and he was of the house of Ithamar. Now the high-priest did not so much attend the ordinary and common service of the sanctuary; therefore Zadok of Eleazar and Ahimelech of Ithamar were the chief in that service under him. Solomon put Abiathar from the high-priesthood, and Zadok in his room; and now Eleazar's line hath the priesthood again.”

Hence it appears, that though Lightfoot asserts that the *regular rule* of succession was hereditary, he admits the fact for which Laurence contends, viz. that it did change from Eleazar's line to that of Ithamar, in the case of Eli.]

choosing the high-priests out of the Asmonean race ; but conferred the honour indifferently upon persons though never so obscure, provided they were but in *holy orders.*" (Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, book xx. chap. viii. page 1206. 8vo.¹) This shews that Herod and the Romans, as wicked as they were, had so much regard to the Jewish laws, as not to prostitute the high-priesthood to any who were not of the seed of Aaron : and therefore it is reasonable to conclude that the high-priests in our Saviour's time were valid high-priests, because of their descent from Aaron ; whereby God's institution of the high-priesthood was preserved, though wickedly circumstantiated by the buying and selling of so sacred an office.

Thirdly, and lastly, the expositor's assertion, "that the atonement was still performed by their" (*i. e.* what he calls the usurping high-priest's) "ministry," is begging the question : it is affirming what he ought to have proved, and has not once attempted to do any thing towards it ; and till he does make it good, I shall take the liberty to deny that his supposed usurping high-priests performed any atonement at all. And the reason why I do deny it is because, if they were not instituted high-priests, their pretended sacerdotal acts, attempting to propitiate the divine nature, were as null to that purpose as King Saul's was before them ; that is, wholly null and void, and for the same reason as his was. But further : even though those high-priests were, as I have

[¹ Ch. x. p. 108, vol. iii. Whiston's edition.]

endeavoured to prove them, high-priests according to the express law or institution of the high-priesthood, yet it does not appear that any atonement for the sins of the Jews was made by their ministration in our Saviour's time; for with what sense can it be said that atonement was made for them, who were then appointed to wrath and vengeance? for that people over whom our Saviour wept, because, through the hardness of their hearts, they were spiritually blinded? *The things that belonged to their peace were hid from their eyes.*¹ They were then in actual bondage to the Romans for their sins; they were at that time filling up the measure of their iniquities, and for their impieties *the wrath was coming upon them to the uttermost;*² insomuch that the dreadful days were speedily coming, wherein their glorious city and temple should inevitably be destroyed, themselves in vast multitudes be slain with the sword, and the remainder of them be led captive into all nations. Was any offering made then, by the most regular Jewish high-priest, of any efficacy to atone for such sinners? If it was, let the expositor inform us how we may know it; and when he has done this, then let him try how he can prove that the offerings of his supposed unconstituted high-priests were of the same validity. If he does not prove this, his whole objection is lost; for till the atonement he talks of is proved to have been valid, unauthorised baptisms will not be proved valid by his pretended atonement.

[¹ Luke xix. 42.][² 1 Thess. ii. 16.]

He says, that “ where the necessity was real and unavoidable, the Jews *were bound* to think that God did, in consideration of that, dispense with His own precept.” This must be acknowledged in one sense, and absolutely denied in another. It must be acknowledged that God, in such real and unavoidable necessities, dispenses with His own precept; that is, does not expect us to obey it, when it is out of our power to obey it. He then dispenses with our non-ability to perform it, and so imputes not to us the omission of it. But then it is absolutely to be denied that, in such real and unavoidable necessity, where we cannot have His positive institutions, He dispenses with them, by allowing us to *commute*, and put instead thereof a human institution, to serve for the same purposes as the divine one. This, I say, is absolutely to be denied, because it infers that God equalises a human institution with His own divine one; which is absurd, besides contrary to the faith and practice of the Jews, who always, when they thought and practised as the Mosaic law directed them, reckoned that God would not, in cases of greatest necessity, allow them to substitute their own inventions in the room of His positive institutions. For thus, when they were in captivity in Babylon seventy years, they did not dare to sacrifice, because they were destitute of the temple and altar where God had placed His name, and where the institution required their sacrifices to be offered. The same we find in that people to this day; for ask but any of the knowing persons

among them, why they do not now offer material sacrifices to God as formerly, and they will tell you they dare not, because they have not the *appointed* temple and altar. If you tell them they may build altars, and offer thereon, they will answer you, that God will not so *dispense* with His precept, and that such sacrifices will be an abomination to Him, and therefore of no benefit, but rather of dangerous consequence, to them ; and that it is safer for them to believe that God, under their present circumstances, expects no material sacrifice at all, than in our expositor's sense to think that God, in consideration of their real and unavoidable necessity (of an altar and temple), will dispense with their building any uninstituted ones, and making sacrifices and burnt-offerings in and upon them. The same we should have found, if, in the time our expositor refers to, that people had been destitute of instituted high-priests and priests : they knew that a *stranger* was not to come nigh ; they had experience enough of God's judgments on such, notwithstanding their pleas of necessity ; and therefore they were bound to think the direct contrary to what our expositor is pleased to affirm : and consequently so are Christians too, if any arguments with respect to them may be drawn from the Jews' faith and practice about such positive institutions. The expositor and his friend endeavour to make such arguments in the objection ; and therefore it is very just to deal with them in their own way, and consequently to conclude against them, from the duty of

the Jews to that of Christians, that when we cannot have or obtain God's positive institutions, we must not set up our own instead thereof, but are *bound* to believe that, in these respects, God dispenses with our want of them ; that we must wait His leisure, till He shall bless us with them ; and, in the meantime, not dare to break through such His rules and methods prescribed to us, and consequently not to baptise without an administrator who is vested with His commission, since such a baptism is no instituted baptism, and its ministration, for all the purposes of the instituted one, is equalising a human to a divine institution, which is not only an absurdity, but an abomination too. And, I think, this is enough in answer to the late Bishop of Sarum's boasted unanswerable objection.

The following objections are brought by one who styles himself a clergyman of the Church of England, in his printed letter to Dr. Brett, concerning his excellent sermon against lay baptism ; and he tells us, just before he brings them, p. 17, that "to shew that every Christian, as Christian, has a natural right to baptise"—though he grants, "that he that does it, not ordained as he ought to be, and not in cases of absolute necessity, acts presumptuously and is very audacious,"—he will use an argument or two drawn from the Scriptures.

Obj. XIV. His first pretended argument is taken from St. Mark ix. 38-40, or St. Luke ix. 49, 50 :

John answered Him, saying, Master, we saw one casting out devils in Thy name ; and he followeth not us, and we forbad him, because he followeth not us. But Jesus said, Forbid him not : for there is no man who shall do a miracle in My name that can lightly speak evil of Me ; for he that is not against us is on our part. The sense of which words, the objector says, is this : “ He that pursues the same end that we do, that strives to beat down the kingdom of Satan as we do, is not to be forbidden ; he is on our side. And does not every one that baptises a child, or person adult, bring his helping hand to subvert the kingdom of Satan ? and shall we presume to forbid him ? ” &c.

Ans. He that does his *lawful* endeavour to beat down the kingdom of Satan ought not to be forbidden ; but he that uses *unlawful* endeavours to that end ought to be prohibited, because, to use the apostle’s words, he does *evil* (he acts contrary to God’s law), *that good may come of it*. St. Paul says¹ that the damnation of those who affirm and practise this is just ; and therefore he who uses his endeavours unlawfully, *i. e.* contrary to the law of God, though he may design to beat down, yet in reality he promotes the kingdom of Satan, which is advanced by nothing more than by disobedience and rebellion against God’s laws. And this is the case of the lay baptiser with us. The laws of God and of this² Church have excluded him from the ministration of baptism ; therefore when he attempts to minister, he

[¹ Rom. iii. 8.]

[² Query “ His ?”]

is disobedient and rebellious against those laws, and so adds strength to the kingdom of Satan, instead of beating it down. Besides, the man objected did miraculously cast out devils in Christ's name : this effectually beat down Satan's kingdom, for *how can Satan cast out Satan?* says our Lord.¹ And when our advocates for lay baptism can prove that such baptism has a miraculous efficiency for the destruction of Satan's kingdom (for to say this without proof, is only begging the question), or when our lay baptisers themselves shall work as uncontroverted a miracle as that was, for the confirmation of their practice, then it will be time enough to believe the validity of those baptisms ; but till that time comes, we must conclude the objector at best to be mistaken, if not worse,—a perverter of the sacred text he adduces for the validity of such unauthorised baptisms.

Obj. XV. His second imaginary argument to this purpose is taken from 1 St. Pet. ii. 5, 9 : *Ye also . . . are built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God, through Christ Jesus. . . . But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood.* St. John (Rev. i. 6) tells us that *Christ has made us kings and priests unto God and His Father.* And he gives us the same appellation, Rev. v. 10. “ This is applied to all Christians ; therefore all Christians are priests, consequently may baptise.” That this is no novelty, he brings Tertullian’s authority to prove : *Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus ?*

[¹ Mark iii. 23.]

Scriptum est enim, Regnum quoque nos et sacerdotes Deo et Patri Suo fecit. Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit Ecclesia, et honor per ordinis consessum sanctificatus : adeo ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est consessus, et offers, et tinguis, et sacerdos es tibi solus. And presently after, *Igitur si habes jus sacerdotis in temetipso, ubi necesse est, habeas oportet etiam disciplinam sacerdotis, ubi necesse sit habere jus sacerdotis.*¹ “The least that these words imply is certainly that, in Tertullian’s judgment, the laity have a right to the priesthood, and, where it is a case of necessity, may exercise that right. And hence it is evident that only order and regularity makes some act, and restrains others from acting in that capacity.” To which add what he calls his third argument, that in Gal. iii. 28 it is said, *In Christ Jesus there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female ; for ye are all one in Christ*

[¹ Tertullian, *Exhort. Castit.* c. vii. The impressive note of the learned Bishop of Lincoln on Tertullian’s argument must not be forgotten. “In the passage just cited (*De Baptismo*, c. xvii. quoted elsewhere), Tertullian rests the right of the laity to administer baptism on the assumption, that a man has the power of conferring upon another whatever he has himself received ; and on the comprehensive meaning of the word ‘disciples,’ John iv. 2 (‘Jesus himself baptised not, but His disciples’). On other occasions (*Exhort. Castit.* c. vii.) he rests it on the ground that all Christians are in fact priests. It is not easy to determine which of the three arguments is the least conclusive.”—*Eccl. History illustrated from Tertullian*, p. 448 ; compare also p. 225 et seq.]

Jesus. “Therefore it is not absolutely necessary in itself that baptism should be performed by an episcopal hand, because in Christ there is no distinction of persons.”

Ans. This gentleman should have taken into his account the promise of God to the Jews, *Ye shall be unto Me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation* (Exod. xix. 6). Upon a right consideration of which, he would have preserved himself from the mischief of so unsafe an interpretation of the parallel texts in the New Testament, and his readers too from the infection which some of them may draw in from his publication of it. That text in Exodus never exalted the common people of the Jews to be proper literal priests, nor gave them any right to the positive instituted functions of the priesthood; so far from that, that those among them who thought they might perform those priestly functions, upon their attempt to do so, found to their sorrow that they were not such priests. King Saul is a standing proof of this. And the judgments inflicted on them are recorded in the sacred oracles, to warn us all to avoid such false and presumptuous notions, and the dangerous practices consequent thereupon.

The common Jews, then, were only priests in a figurative sense of the word; *i. e.* as God selected and consecrated His proper priests, and took them from among men, publicly to offer such gifts and sacrifices to Him as He had appointed them; so He took and separated to Himself, from among other na-

tions, the people of the Jews, that they might acceptably offer to Him such services, particularly public ones, as He should appoint them also. Even God's proper priests were limited by Him, what public services they should perform to Him; insomuch as that none of them could validly minister in the peculiar office of the high-priest, who was their head, and they were all dependent on him. So the common Jews, the figurative priests, were limited in their public services; they were none of them to minister except *jure prophetico*, in the peculiar offices of the proper priests, who were also their heads and governors in the public divine service. It was a great privilege for the common Jews to be admitted by God to offer Him the public services, or figurative sacrifices, of prayers and praises, together with those of themselves, souls and bodies, to His reasonable service, and to be accepted by Him when they did this, as He had appointed them, in subordination to, and dependence on, His positive instituted priests; and this was their figurative priesthood. They are called priests only in this remote, improper sense of the word, viz. because they were separate from other nations, and such their services were accepted of by God, as the proper priests were taken from among men, and their positive instituted offerings and services were acceptable to Him upon the account of His thus separating and consecrating of them.

This separation and consecration of His instituted proper priests by God Himself was not, as the ob-

jector would have it, only for order and regularity, but also that they might be shadows and types of Christ, the great High-priest which was to come, in whom alone we can be accepted. They, and the bloody offerings and sacrifices made by them for the people, were appointed to resemble *Him*, and the sacrifice He was to make for the sins of the whole world; as St. Paul, in his epistle to the Hebrews, has abundantly proved. And this had infinitely more in it than bare order and regularity; it was an instituted method of interceding with God, by the mediation of Jesus Christ, in behalf of fallen man; it was an appointed way of executing Christ's mediatorial office by visible representatives of Him, and types of His ministrations, to reconcile us to God, and God to us.

It is the same now in our Christian dispensation. The apostles, and their successors, are appointed not only for order and regularity, but also, and more especially, to represent our Saviour, to be His vicegerents and ambassadors, to bear His character and authority. For says He, *As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. Lo, I am with you! He that hears you hears Me.* This continues visible to us His mediatorial office, and makes their instituted ministerial acts to be His, and for that reason acceptable to God for our spiritual benefit and advantage. Hence we discover that Tertullian's notion concerning the priesthood of private Christians was a Montanistical error;¹ for their

[¹] Tertullian's view, that there is no distinction between the laity and clergy, occurs in treatises written before he em-

priesthood, spoken of in the several texts objected, amounts to no more than that figurative priesthood which belonged to the common Jews, as God's *segullah* [שְׁגָלָה], or peculiar people, for the reasons I have given before concerning them. To which add, that the text in St. Peter confirms this, by naming the sacrifices they are to offer; for he says their priesthood is *to offer up spiritual sacrifices*, i. e. those of prayers and praises, &c. As for the other positive sacrifices appointed by Christ to be made by His instituted proper priests, viz. the dedication of persons to God by baptism; the offering of the commemorative sacrifice of Christ's body and blood in the eucharist; and presiding, in all other public divine service, to mediate between God and the people in Christ's stead;—these are sacrifices peculiar to the order of the clergy, and this text never designed them to be performed by lay Christians. For says St. Paul, *Are all apostles?*¹ It is his strong negation; as much as if he had said, *All Christians are not apostles.* The apostles and their successors are Christian priests, because their ministerial office is to mediate with God, as Christ's representatives, in our behalf. This the Scripture abundantly proves, and the universal Church conbraced Montanism, as well as in those subsequent to his heresy. The tract *De Baptismo* is as unhesitatingly classed under the first head, as that *De Monogamia* is given to the last; that *De Exhort. Cast.* may belong to a transition-state. The Bishop of Lincoln is somewhat disposed, however, to give up the *De Baptismo* on account of this “suspicious passage,” c. vi. p. 48.]

[¹ 1 Cor. xii. 29.]

stantly testifies. Common Christians are not such priests ; they have not this office of being Christ's representatives committed to them ; for who can take *this honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron?*¹ The text adduced will as much prove them literal kings as such priests ; for it is said, *Christ has made us kings and priests.*² If people once persuade themselves that this great office belongs to them because they are Christians, God's authority in His kings will be trampled under foot, and despised among men. It behoves princes, and all other inferior orders, to take care of such dangerous interpreters of Scripture as these would be. Christians, as such, are highly exalted by their redemption from the slavery and bondage of sin and Satan, from the vile servitude to their own lusts, and from the burden of the Mosaic law of costly ceremonies, &c. In this they are kings, being brought into the glorious liberty of the sons of God, and having, through the aids and assistances of the Holy Ghost, a capacity of overcoming all the powers of darkness. But they will lose this, their spiritual dignity, if they assume to themselves the title and office of kings in the proper literal sense of the word ; and so they will their priesthood too, if they presume, like Saul, to attempt to minister in the positive instituted functions of Christ's appointed priests.

Thus we see that Christians, as such, are no otherwise priests than the common Jews were ; only thus much, they are higher advanced than the Jews ;

[¹ Heb. v. 4.]

[² Rev. i. 5 ; v. 10.]

that they are kings, too, by that spiritual freedom, liberty, and power, which I have mentioned, and which the Jews, under their dispensation, could not boast of, as we may.

There is another sense wherein Christians, as such, collectively taken, may be termed kings and priests ; and that is, as they are the members of that *body*, whose Head, Christ Jesus, is King and Priest in the highest sense of those words. It is no novelty to call the body by the name given to the head, for the Scripture itself calls the Church, which is the body of Christ, by the name Christ. 1 Cor. xiii. 12 : *For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body being many are one body ; so also is Christ*, or the body of Christ, which is His Church. And since the Scripture calls the Church Christ, it is no wonder to find the same divine writings call Christians, *i. e.* all the Church of Christ, kings and priests ; for those texts speak of the universal body, the Church collectively taken : *A spiritual house, a holy priesthood, a royal priesthood.* This is the meaning of that other text, *kings and priests*, *i. e.* in one body ye are kings and priests ; because ye are the body of Christ, who is *King and Priest*. And as any single member, as such, of that body is not Christ in the proper sense of the word, so neither is any member thereof, as such, a king or priest in the proper sense of those words. They are only so in a figurative sense, as they are related to, and are in union with, their head : and so they are

likewise as they are members of the respective particular churches, whose visible spiritual heads, the bishops, are spiritual kings and priests by Christ's institution, to whom the members are united, and consequently in subjection : and therefore, though Christ respects no particular person, more or less, for being of a Jewish or Gentile offspring, for being bond or free, male or female, but regards the obedience, &c. of all alike ; yet He makes a distinction of offices, and requires the several members of His body, the Church, to keep their proper stations (as St. Paul most excellently argues throughout his 12th chapter of the 1st epistle to the Corinthians), to perform their several respective functions ; and to be in subordination the inferior to the superior, that His authority may be preserved visible in His Church, and all the members thereof may refer to Him the spiritual benefits they receive through His instituted ministrations, by attending on, and receiving them at the hands of those whom He has made His representatives for that purpose : and therefore it is absolutely necessary, by Christ's institution, that when we are baptised, we should receive baptism from an episcopal hand, which is Christ's officer, and so far Himself, notwithstanding that in Christ Jesus there is no distinction or respect of persons.

I conclude this Answer to the Objections, most earnestly entreating the most reverend, the right reverend, and reverend *governors* and *ministers* of Christ over His

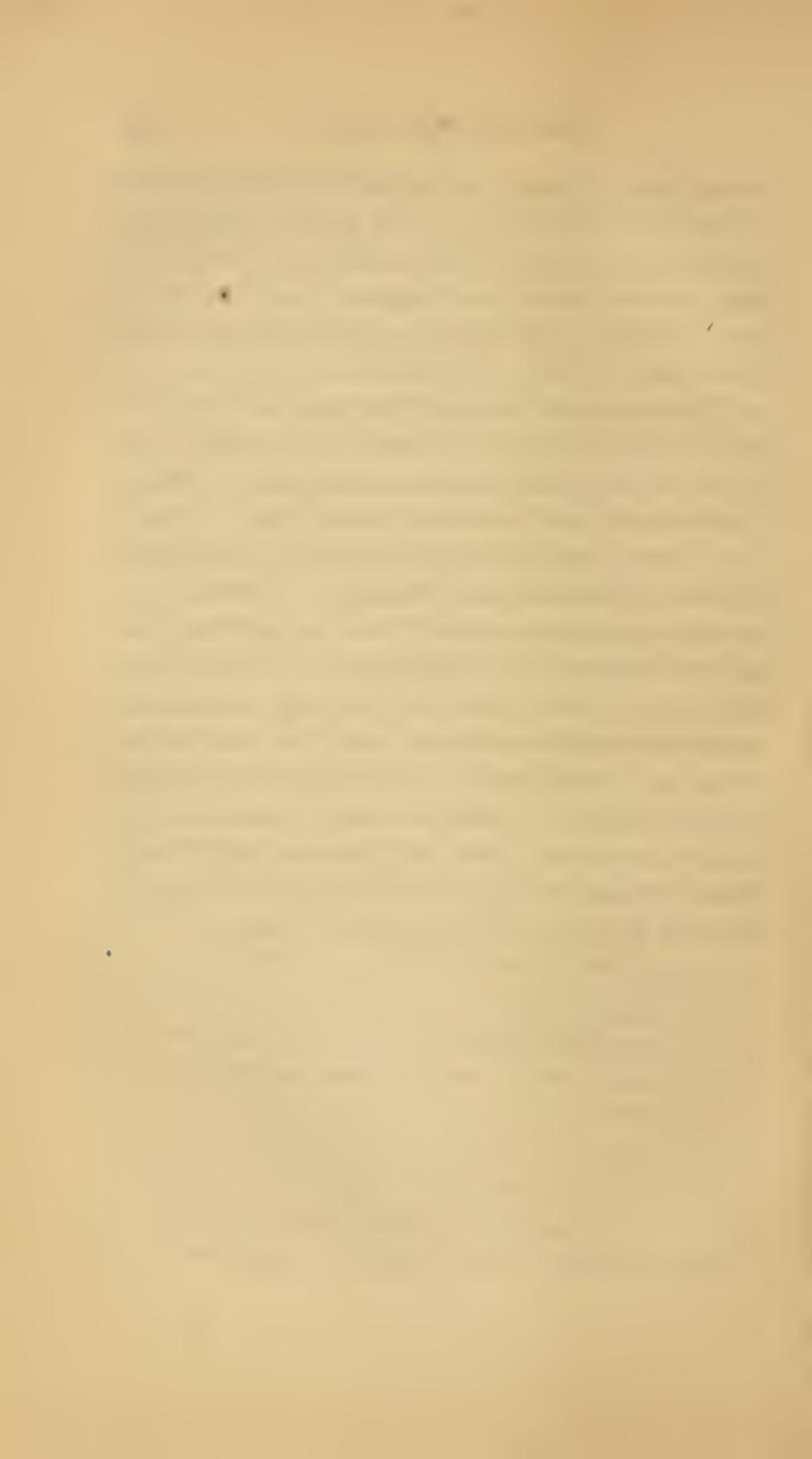
flock, in all parts of the *universal* Church, the *priests* of the most high God, who are duly authorised to represent and make visible to us the once visible but now invisible *priesthood* of the great High-Priest of our profession Christ Jesus—who have not taken this honour unto themselves without being called of God, as was Aaron—who are therefore the delegated *ambassadors* for Christ, and appointed *stewards* of the mysteries of God, to whom He has given the *keys*, and committed the custody of the *two great seals* of the kingdom of heaven; so that whatsoever they shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever they shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven,—I humbly beseech them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to consider the great dignity of their high and holy calling, and their *unalienable* right to administer those *sacraments*, which the infinite wisdom of our great Lawgiver has appropriated to their sacred function. For if the ministration of the sacraments is not *essential* to their office, and *their office essential* to the ministration of valid sacraments, what signifies the institution of the priesthood, and to what purpose did our blessed Lord promise to be with His priests, and concur with their ministrations, to the end of the world? If the presumptuous ministrations of laymen acting of themselves, or in opposition to the Church and her priests, is not inconsistent with the nature and property of true sacraments; or if they can be true and valid sacraments when given by their hands; how, and by what means, shall we be convinced

of the necessity of the Christian priesthood to the Church by divine institution, and its perpetuity, till the consummation of all things? How shall we be persuaded to value the ministrations of a priest more than those of a layman? and what arguments can be produced for the preservation of the unity of the Church, and to keep us from eternal schisms and separations from her? Your long silence in not asserting and defending the dignity of your office, and the unalienable nature of those sacraments which Christ has inseparably annexed thereto, though it may have proceeded from a notion of humility and modesty, that you might not be thought to preach up yourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; yet (with submission be it spoken) seems to have been the occasion of much ignorance, among the laity, of the nature of schism, and their duty to you, and consequently of encouraging the enemies of the clergy, and of their great Master in heaven, to blaspheme Him, and trample the authority you have from Him under their feet. Atheism, deism, profaneness, blasphemy, and sacrilege, are now grown impudent and barefaced, bold and rampant; they scorn any longer to dwell in obscurity and darkness, when they are become the fashionable accomplishments of our pretended great wits, and men of distinguished sense and judgment. They have a grand design in hand, (and their emissaries have prosecuted it with too much success,) to represent your office every where, and to all sorts of men, as tyranny, imposture, and usurpation; to

wrest the sacraments out of your hands, that you may become useless and insignificant; to make the giddy multitude believe that all you do is nothing but priestcraft, to bring and keep them under a worse than Egyptian bondage; to expose you to the rage and fury of an ungovernable mob, and so at last to hiss you, and all revealed religion, off the stage of this world. What else mean their several execrable books and pamphlets, that are now industriously published, of set purpose to decry your office, and ridicule your ministrations? How shall the ignorant be defended from their infection but by the antidote, which some of you, both by books and sermons, have already begun to apply, courageously following the example of the great St. Paul, who magnified his office, and thereby the authority of Jesus Christ who sent him? God be praised for these happy beginnings, these first noble performances in maintaining your office, and in defence of the true rights of the Christian Church, deposited in your hands by the great Author of our most holy religion: and may He, by the blessed influences of His Spirit, stir up many *more of you* to *cry aloud and spare not, to lift up your voices like a trumpet, to shew the people their transgressions, and those who strive with the priest their sin* (Is. lviii. 1, Hos. iv. 4, and Rom. ii. 8); that they may learn to *know and submit to those who are over them in the Lord, and who watch for their souls* (Heb. xiii. 17); that they *may esteem them very highly in love for their work's sake* (1 Thess. v. 13), because they are

the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God (1 Corinth. iv. 1). That so the people may effectually be enabled to mark and avoid those who, though they come to us *in sheep's clothing*,¹ and transform themselves into the appearance of apostles of Christ and ministers of righteousness,² are yet inwardly but ravening wolves,³ false apostles, deceitful workers,⁴ and ministers of Satan, in St. Paul's language; for they cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which we have learned,⁵ nay, contrary to the very principles or foundations of the doctrine of Christ, of baptisms, and of laying on of hands;⁶ and therefore should be avoided, that we may *keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace*.⁷ Which that we may all learn to do, and by your consentient constant warnings be preserved from the dreadful sin of hating sound doctrine, and heaping to ourselves teachers destitute of the divine commission, who *serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly*,⁸ may God of His infinite mercy grant, through Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

[¹ Matt. vii. 15.][² 2 Cor. xi. 13, 15.][³ Matt. vii. 15.][⁴ 2 Cor. xi. 13.][⁵ Rom. xvi. 17.][⁶ Heb. vi. 1, 2.][⁷ Eph. iv. 3.][⁸ Rom. xvi. 18.]



APPENDIX.

ON THE PRACTICE OF THE GREEK CHURCH AND OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

I. THE GREEK CHURCH.

BINGHAM (*Scholastical History*, part i. c. ii. p. 94) produces, as his first authority for the practice of lay baptism in the Greek Church, its decree under the patriarch Nicephorus, who lived in the early part of the ninth century, contained in two canons passed by 270 bishops at Constantinople (according to his opinion), ordering that in case of necessity a layman might baptise; although the doctrine was at the time and afterwards impugned by writers of that communion: by George Hamartolus, A.D. 840; Glycas, A.D. 1120, who relied much on the apostolical canons; and Theodore, A.D. 1220. But he admits that the council of Constantinople, under the patriarch Lucas, A.D. 1166, determined in direct contradiction to the canons of Nicephorus, directing that those who were baptised by fictitious priests should be baptised, grounding their decision on the apostolic canons; although he argues that this decree did not necessarily exclude cases of necessity. 2. The criticism

of Jeremy on the Augsburgh Confession, at the period of the Reformation, where he expressly allows of lay baptism in cases of necessity. 3. The present practice, which is also in favour of it, with the limitation of necessity ; and this he proves by the testimony of Metrophanes Critopulus in Suicer's *Thesaurus* (voce βαπτιζω, p. 631), of Severus, and of Smith's account of the Greek Churches : although he admits that Simeon of Thessalonica, quoted by Jeremy Taylor (see this passage in p. 73), bears an opposite testimony.

Brett, quoting the authorities adduced by Laurence below, and then, on the authority of Cave and Beveridge, adds (*Letter to Laurence*, p. 5) Matthew Blastar's testimony as to the practice of the Greek Church A.D. 1335, two hundred years after the great council of Constantinople : " If a man say that baptism given by a layman ought to be reputed true baptism, he may as well say that those who are ordained by a layman, who has feigned himself a bishop, ought to be esteemed as clergymen."

Laurence replies (*Lay Baptism invalid*, part ii. p. 210, &c.), that Bingham confessedly can bring no testimony for the first eight hundred years of Christianity ; but that during this silence St. Basil (see *Prel. Disc. p.ci.*) and St. Chrysostom (see p. cv.) pronounced against the validity of any other than priestly baptism : and entering into Bingham's authorities in detail, he says (p. 213), 1. That the ninth century was extremely corrupt, and Nicephorus an image-

worshipper; that great suspicion attaches to the two canons produced; that they do not occur in the synodical acts of any council of Constantinople, but they are only mentioned as “canons of Nicephorus,” and consequently they are of no higher authority than his own private decision; and that the very fact which Bingham admits, that at least three writers of the Greek communion protested against the doctrine, shews that the validity of lay baptism was not the approved sense and practice of the Greek Church; and finally (p. 225), that, granting the authenticity of the canons of Nicephorus, they only come to this,—that the patriarch did, in certain cases, give his laity authority to baptise; which cannot be drawn into a precedent for our laymen, who confessedly not only have no commission nor authority, but act in direct contradiction to episcopal order. 2. On the authority of the council of Constantinople, A.D. 1166, admitted by Bingham, Laurence of course places much weight. 3. He argues that the practice of the *modern* Greek Church is of very little authority, corrupted and influenced as it is by the Jesuits, of which he instances their interpolation of Cyril Lucas’s confession, and Dr. Smith’s evidence that “they had in several points of doctrine and practice corrupted the belief of their fathers.”

Bingham (part ii. Appendix, p. 348) replies, that whether the canons of Nicephorus were or were not passed synodically, at all events they were the canons of the patriarch, and consequently authoritative in

the Greek Church ; and that as for the opposition they met with by certain writers, it would be as just to conclude against the practice of the English Church because it is written against also. And of the modern evidences which he produced, he alleges that both Metrophanes and Severus wrote in defence of the Greeks against the Latins ; the latter especially against the pope's supremacy, and the former was a student at Oxford under Archbishop Abbot.

And Laurence (preface, p. lii., to Supplement to first and second parts of *Lay Baptism invalid*, § 32) rejoins :

“ Upon the whole, all Mr. Bingham’s evidence for lay baptism in the Greek Church commences from the beginning of the ninth century, one of the corruptest ages of Christianity, and consists only of the private opinion of particular men, and those not corroborated so much as but by one council of the Greek Church ; his whole evidence being no more than these two obscure canons of Nicephorus ; the opinion of Jeremy, the late patriarch of Constantinople ; Metrophanes Critopulus, a late Greek writer ; Gabriel Severus ; and Dr. Smith’s extract out of one of their confessions of faith, printed A.D. 1662, which confession is of obscure original ; and Dr. Smith declares of this very confession, that it is enough ‘ to incline any sober and considering man to believe that the Greeks have of late, more than ever, been wrought upon by the sly artifices and underhand dealings of the subtle emissaries of Rome.’ And this confes-

sion, and Jeremy the patriarch, and Gabriel Severus, do all allow *women*, as well as laymen, to baptise, which, by Mr. Bingham's own confession, 'the ancient Church did not allow them to do ;' and every body knows that this practice is a peculiar corruption of the Church of Rome, and consequently may easily learn where these few Greeks learned their latitude.

"But, in opposition to lay baptism, *let their opinions in other matters be what they will*, the Greeks have given abundant testimony : viz. St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, in the fourth century ; Hamartolus, about the year 840 ; Glycas, 1120 ; a great council of Constantinople, 1166, at which were present the patriarchs of Constantinople, Antioch, and Jerusalem, with fifty-seven metropolitans, besides other bishops ; and Theodore, about 1220 : and if to all this we add the testimony of Arcudius, a Romish priest, who wrote a book, printed A.D. 1626, to make the world believe that the oriental Churches agreed with the Roman, where he owns that, 'for the most part, all Greece, Russia, Muscovia, and other provinces, who after the manner of the Greek Church continue in the faith of Christ, when a priest is absent, had rather suffer their infants to die without (what he calls) baptism, than suffer them to be baptised (as he terms it) by any other, because they think that it is not lawful, even in necessity, for laics to execute this office,'—I say, if we sum up this whole evidence, we shall have a great cloud of witnesses against lay baptism's being agreeable to the sense and practice of the Greek

Church ; and these vastly superior in number, credit, and reputation, to the private authorities produced by Mr. Bingham on the other side."

II. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

Bingham (*Scholast. History*, p. 112) thus states what he conceives to be the doctrine and practice of the English Church. The liturgy, before the Hampton-court conference (see p. 70), permitted laymen to baptise in cases of necessity. Archbishop Whitgift, however, interpreted this private baptism otherwise : " private in respect of the place, which is a private house, and not in respect of the minister." Archbishop Abbot construed this permission given to the laity as only a temporary toleration, necessary before men's minds were thoroughly released from popery. Bilson and Babington, however, admitted that the rubric did, in cases of necessity, allow such baptism. And though these differences of opinion existed, as in the views taken respectively by Whitgift and Bilson as to the intention of the Church in authorising such baptisms, " all agreed that when done, according to rule or against it, they were not absolutely null and void, or as such to be repeated by a lawful minister in order to obtain salvation." Whitgift rests on the case of Zipporah, and quotes Tertullian, Augustine, Zuingle, and Calvin, and the [alleged] case of Athanasius (see *App. to Prel. Disc.* p. cxxxiii.). Hooker (*Eccl. Pol.* v. 62, vol. ii. p. 388) takes exactly the same ground. Abbot reasons : 1. That the minister was

not essential to the sacrament ; 2. *Factum valet, fieri non debet* ; 3. The practice of the Church ; 4. The custom of the English Church hitherto ; 5. The supposed difficulties which the opposite view would involve,—such as depriving many of the seal of their faith ; the uncertainty it would cause ; the possibility of one unbaptised being ordained, or if baptised, that one should be ordained by an unbaptised bishop. The Oxford reply to the “millenary petition” (which reckoned the permission of lay baptism a grievance in the Church) took the same view, as did Whitaker at Cambridge. King James I. and Bishop Bilson, at the Hampton-court conference, and Casaubon after it, held the doctrine, which is thus stated in Barlow’s account (Cardwell, *History of Conferences*, p. 176) : “The necessity of baptism his majesty so expounded, that it was necessary to be had where it might be lawfully had, *id est*, ministered by lawful ministers ; by whom alone, and by no private person, he thought it might not in any case be administered ; and yet utterly disliked all rebaptisation, although women or laics had performed it.”

And on the other side, against this validity of lay baptism, Bingham only produces Forbes (see *Prel. Disc.* p. cxv.) and Jeremy Taylor (see p. 72).

But from the fact that the rubric was altered to its present form [*Office for Private Baptism* : “First, let the minister of the parish (or, in his absence, any other lawful minister that can be procured) with them that are present call upon God,” &c.], Brett (*Letter to*

Laurence, p. 7-10) argues that now “ baptism can lawfully be administered, even in cases of necessity, by no other than a lawful minister.” Hickes (*Letter to Laurence*) takes the same ground, and (p. 13) quotes Beveridge : “The means of grace lose their force and energy, unless they be rightly and duly administered, and so can never attain the end wherefore they were established ” (*Sermon on Acts* xiii. 3). “ I am sure that all that I did would be null and void, had I not a commission to be an ambassador for Christ and to act in His name ” (*Sermon on 2 Cor.* viii. 20).

Laurence published a separate tract in reply to Bishop Fleetwood’s *Judgment of the Church of England in the case of Lay Baptism*, entitled *Dissenters’ and other unauthorised Baptisms null and void by the Articles, Canons, and Rubric of the Church of England*, London, 1712, which is here reprinted entire.

DISSENTERS’ BAPTISM NULL AND VOID.

1. The author [Bp. Fleetwood] of the book entitled, *The Judgment of the Church of England in the case of Lay Baptism and of Dissenters’ Baptism*, in his preface, p. 4, tells the world that he does not think himself “at present concerned in the *main matter* disputed, viz. whether *lay baptism be invalid*, or whether all the presbyterian ministers are mere laymen, but only to know what the *opinion* of the *Church of England* was in the matter.” In page 19 of his book, he further acquaints us, that he does “not pretend to enter into the *merits* of the cause, nor to

dispute whether lay baptism be valid or invalid, nor whether it be lawful or unlawful to rebaptise, as he calls it, such as have been baptised by lay hands." And lastly, to put us out of all doubt concerning the design of his book, he says, in his conclusion, page 38,—"Thus I have gone through the *little* work I undertook; which was *not to prove* the validity of lay baptism; *nor to prove* the baptism of dissenters to be good and valid, in opposition to the author of lay baptism's invalidity, or in opposition to Dr. Hickes, his abetter and encourager; this (says he) was not my design; but to make good my position, that the Church of England hath by *no public act* of hers made or declared lay baptism to be invalid. Both those writers (says he) had affirmed that the Church of England accounts lay baptism, and the baptism of dissenting ministers to be invalid; as far as they have affirmed that, I have concerned myself with them, and no farther."

2. Thus we see our author's design; and if we may believe him, it is the whole of his undertaking: but how true that is, will be shewn in the process of this answer: at present it is very remarkable how shy he is of the main matter disputed, and his saying that the little work he undertook was not to prove the validity of lay baptism, &c. looks as if he did not think his supposed judgment of the Church concerning that matter to be any proof for the validity thereof; for if he did in truth believe that her opinion was any good proof that lay baptism is valid,

his endeavouring to produce her opinion would have shewn, and he must have acknowledged it, that his design was to prove, in opposition to the two authors he mentions, that lay baptism and the dissenters' baptism is good and valid: but he is well aware that bare opinion is no proof; and therefore he very judiciously waves the merits of the cause.

3. But how much soever he pretends to evade the main matter disputed, viz. whether lay baptism be valid or invalid, he will find himself to be deeply concerned in it; and that men will judge that the design of his undertaking was not only to oppose the inferences which Dr. Hickes and his friend have drawn from the Church's articles and rubrics, but also to endeavour to prove the validity of our dissenting teachers' and other lay baptisms: this, in due time, will be proved upon him, and the insufficiency of his imaginary arguments from the Church's supposed opinion in this weighty matter will fairly be represented to the reader's view.

But before I concern myself with his way of arguing, I must inform the reader that the matter in dispute is only this, viz. whether persons not authorised by their bishops to baptise, especially when they act in opposition to episcopacy itself, can administer valid baptism. This, in short, is the great question which has been very largely discussed; and those who have treated of it have, among other arguments, insisted upon the Church of England's articles and rubrics as standing evidences against such persons administer-

ing valid baptism: and that the consequences of the Church's public acts do null and make void such unauthorised and anti-episcopal baptisms. It is in opposition to this that our author now exerts himself; but with what strength of argument I come now to inquire.

4. The position he lays down, and which he pretends is the only design of his book to prove, is this, page 1st, "that the Church of England hath, by no public act of hers, made or declared lay baptism to be invalid." This he endeavours to evidence by three supposed arguments. 1. From the two first Common Prayer-books in the reign of king Edward the VI., published anno 1549 and 1552, in both which books it was allowed that in private baptism, which was for cases of necessity, *one* of the persons present should name and baptise the child: from whence our author concludes (pp. 2d and 4th), that as in times of popery, so in our first reformation, the baptism of laymen and midwives was allowed; and that it was then the belief of the Church of England that a child baptised by a lay person, in due matter and form, is lawfully and perfectly baptised. To which I answer, that our author himself does, in his 18th page, confute the positiveness of this assertion; for there he tells us thus, "even the rubric of king Edward's book was so worded as to leave it *disputable* and *doubtful*,¹ whether the Church allowed, or

[¹ See Whitgift's interpretation above, p. 172.]

intended to allow, of lay baptism in cases of necessity,"—this shews how uncertain he is in this matter: but I further affirm, that it cannot be proved, from the Church's public act in those two Common Prayer-books, that the Church believed unauthorised persons could administer valid baptism; and my reason is this,—because the rubric, as this author himself quotes it (pp. 1 and 2), says, "Let them that be present call upon God, &c. And then one of them *shall* name the child, and dip him in the water, or pour the water upon him, saying these words,—N. I baptise thee," &c., whereby it is plain the bishops in those days *commanded* this baptism; one of them *shall* do it, esteeming themselves to have authority to command, and thereby to empower, such a baptiser for that time and circumstance; and therefore the person baptising acted then, in the opinion of the Church, by authority of the bishops; they were the commanding power which gave authority to such administrators at the beginning of the reformation; so that, whatsoever validity such baptisms were believed to have had, it was owing to the baptiser's acting, not by any pretended power or authority of his own, much less in opposition to the Church, but by virtue of the Church's power and authority committed to the members of her own communion for that time and circumstance; which, whether right or no, is no ways applicable to our laymen and dissenters, who are utterly destitute of any such plea since the alteration of our office of private baptism, which now does

not give that power which the Church at the beginning of our reformation did grant. And this I take to be a full answer to our writer's five first pages.

5. Before I proceed any further with this author, I think it necessary to inquire, from the present articles, canons, and rubrics, of our Church, what we may learn concerning baptisms performed without authority; such as our dissenters' and other lay baptisms with us are; and what her opinion is about them.

6. Our Church's thirty-nine articles, then, are articles of religion; and therefore are matters of doctrine relating to God and His laws; and not mere doctrines and commandments of men, to be changed and altered at pleasure, as some have represented them; for they were made for the establishing of consent touching *true religion*, as their title declares; and they were ratified and confirmed because "they do contain the true doctrine of the Church of England, *agreeable to God's word*," as the declaration prefixed to them does affirm; so that what they pronounce to be lawful or unlawful, must necessarily be acknowledged to be so with respect to true religion taught in the word of God, which is the standard by which these articles were made; and therefore what they call unlawful, is certainly, in the sense of the Church, unlawful by the word of God Himself.

7. Her twenty-third article affirms, that "it is *not lawful* (therefore it is contrary to the law of God) for any man to take upon him the office of

ministering the sacraments before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same." The law relating to the ministering of sacraments is in our Saviour's institution of them; therefore it is by this article contrary to the very institution of the Christian sacraments for any man to take upon him the office of ministering them before he be lawfully called and sent. Consequently a man not called and sent, as our laymen and dissenters are not, acts contrary to the institution of the sacraments when he pretends to administer them, because he is not that lawfully called and sent administrator which the institution of the sacraments constantly and unalterably does require. And what will make such pretended ministrations invalid, if contrariety to the very essential law of the institution will not? If the Church, in any of her articles, had said, it is not lawful for any other form to be used in baptism than that, *in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*; would not any reasonable man, that made use of his faculty of thinking, presently conclude that the Church excluded all other forms, because of their being contrary to the instituted form of baptism? Would he not from thence infer, that pretended baptism, with such an uninstituted form, is not the instituted baptism? Would he not say that he learned this from the Church's article; and consequently that the Church nulled such a baptism? I do not doubt but he would: and why then should we not construe the Church's twenty-third article to null baptisms

performed by such as were never called or sent? Certainly the same reason will hold for her nulling this, as for her voiding the other supposed baptism, since the authorised administrator is as much and as durable a part of the institution of baptism as the form itself is. Our Church, in this article, is declaring her doctrine concerning the minister of sacraments; this doctrine of hers relates to true religion, as was before observed, sect. 6. Therefore, when she says, "it is not lawful," &c., she does not refer to any human law; she does not appeal to any arbitrary injunction of man, but to the divine law recorded in holy Scripture: that law is the only standard whereby articles of true religion are to be tried and examined; and it is from this law that she takes her true doctrine concerning the minister of sacraments; and it is only to this law that she appeals, when she says, "It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office," &c. So that, if this divine law of the institution of Christian sacraments makes the authority of him who ministers them to be an essential part of their institution, then the Church, by this article, appealing to the same law, does also determine that the authority of the minister is an essential part of that law, and consequently that the whole law is vacated when one of its essential parts is made void; as it certainly is, in the case of unauthorised and anti-episcopal baptism: and to gainsay this, our author must enter into the merits of the cause, and endeavour to prove such baptism good and valid in the sense of the divine law; though he is so

very loath to engage himself in this matter. But further, the Church does not rest here; she says more still; for,

8. In her twenty-sixth article she affirms, concerning the minister of baptism, which is one of the sacraments she is there speaking of, that he does “not minister the same in *his own name*, but in *Christ's*, and by *His commission* and authority . . . that the sacraments be effectual because of Christ's *institution* and *promise*.” This she asserts, to take off the scruples of some mistaken people, who think that the efficacy of the word and sacraments is destroyed by the wickedness of the minister who officiates in them. Wherein we may observe by what means she would reduce their erroneous judgments; for, by this article, she informs them that it is not the worthiness or sanctity of the minister's person, but the commission by which he acts, that they ought chiefly to regard; the sacraments are not his, but Christ's, because ministered by His commission and authority; and the Church gives this of Christ's commission and authority for the reason why we should *use the ministry even of bad men* in . . . *receiving the sacraments*; but this can never hold with respect to the ministry of any man, how good and holy soever, that is not authorised; for he can, upon no account whatsoever, be said to have Christ's commission and authority. The article says also, that the sacraments are “effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise.” If so, then take away the cause, and their effectuality will

cease. The cause of their being effectual is Christ's institution and promise; His institution of " Go ye" is wanting, when an unauthorised person attempts to baptise (St. Matt. xxviii. 19, and article twenty-three of the Church of England); His promise is also no ways here concerned, for that—*Lo, I am with you always, &c.*—was made only to authorised persons (St. Matthew xxviii. 19); consequently the uncommissioned baptiser has neither Christ's institution nor His promise, and therefore his ministration, being destitute of these, has not cause sufficient to make it effectual, by this twenty-sixth article of our Church; and the unavoidable consequence of this is, that such his ministration is in its own nature ineffectual, and therefore null and void, because destitute of the cause which makes good and valid.

9. The twenty-seventh article of the Church of England defines baptism to be "not only a sign of profession and mark of difference, &c., but also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an *instrument*, they that receive baptism *rightly* are grafted into the Church—the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God, &c., are *visibly signed and sealed*;" and in her most excellent Catechism she teaches, that a sacrament is a "*pledge* to assure us of inward spiritual grace," consequently that baptism, which is a sacrament, is a pledge, or *earnest* given us, to assure us of those infinite blessings before spoken of in the twenty-seventh article. This illustrates the reason of the Church's

assertions in her twenty-third and twenty-sixth articles ; for hereby she necessarily gives us to understand, that, to the essential administering of Christian sacraments, there must be something sufficient to give them the true value and worth of an “ instrument visibly signed and sealed” between God and us, —something that may give them the power and virtue of “ God’s pledge or earnest” to us, that we shall be partakers of His unspeakable graces and favours ; this something can be no other than either God Himself, or His lawful attorney, sent by Him to act in His stead ; for signing and sealing, and giving of pledges, can never be validly done by any, but either the principal, who covenants with us directly, or by his appointed agent, whom he sends to covenant with us in his stead. And there is no other conceivable revealed way, under our present Christian dispensation, for God visibly to sign and seal to us, and give us an outward visible pledge to assure us of His grace and favour, but by means of His commissioned substitutes ; and therefore it is the Church’s doctrine, in this twenty-seventh article, and in her most admirable Catechism, that men must be vested with the divine commission to baptise, because without such a commission, baptism is not a sign, seal, and pledge on God’s part, and therefore not the baptism which He instituted, consequently no Christian baptism, and if so, then utterly invalid.

10. Again, in the thirty-seventh article our Church says, “ We give not to our princes the *ministering*

either of God's word or of the sacraments, but that only prerogative, &c., that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers."

The Church by this expression, "we give not to our princes," &c., is to be understood to mean, "we attribute not to our princes," or, "we believe not that our princes have the power or authority of ministering" either God's word or the sacraments. That she is to be understood in this sense, is plain by what follows in the article; for it is not to be supposed that she gives princes the prerogative of ruling, &c.; that prerogative they have, without any gift from her; she only designs to teach us, that she believes princes have such a prerogative. So that the Church informs us, in this article, that our princes themselves have not the power of ministering the sacraments. Now this could not be true, if lay Christians, as such, had that power; because a man's being a prince does by no means deprive him of any power he had as a lay Christian before his promotion to that dignity; therefore, since our Church does believe, and her belief is true, that our princes have not the power of ministering sacraments, she necessarily includes all other laymen to be destitute of this power; otherwise inferior lay Christians are, as such, superior in spiritual power to their lay Christian sovereigns, which is absurd; and therefore it is

the belief of our Church, that princes, and other lay Christians, attempting, without authority, to administer sacraments, do not minister them : for if they do minister sacraments, then the ministering of the sacraments is in their power, which is contrary to the article ; and therefore any unauthorised attempt of theirs to minister the sacraments is, in the sense of this article, a null and void ministration.

11. Thus we have seen what the Church has taught us by her articles, viz. that to the administration of the sacraments, their institution, which is the only law that appoints essentials, requires this essential, that the administrator of them, and therefore of baptism, be lawfully called and sent (article twenty-third).

That the efficacy or validity of the sacraments, and consequently of baptism, is founded upon the commission which the administrator has received from Christ (article twenty-sixth).

That the ministration of the sacrament of baptism is a visible signing, sealing, and giving to us a pledge on God's part, and therefore necessarily requires that it be done either by God Himself, who is the principal, or else by one authorised by Him to act therein as His lawful attorney (article twenty-seventh, and Church Catechism).

Lastly, That even our princes, and therefore no other unauthorised layman whatsoever, has this commission to minister any sacrament (article thirty-seventh) ; and consequently that, when any such

unauthorised person attempts to baptise, he is no instituted baptiser; his ministraton is not effectual; his act is no visible signing, sealing, or giving a pledge on God's part; his meddling in the matter is not the ministering of the sacrament, and therefore a total nullity in all respects. Thus far we have seen the Church's sense in this matter, as delivered to us by her articles of religion, which are her standing laws, by which all her members are obliged to be governed.

12. As for the other laws of the Church, as they stand at present, it is evident that they allow of no perfect or valid baptism without a lawful minister; for the thirtieth canon, speaking of this matter, says, that “when the *minister*, dipping the infant in water, or laying water upon the face of it, as the manner also is, hath pronounced these words, *I baptise thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, the infant is fully and perfectly baptised.” It is, by the canon, the minister's doing this, that makes the full and perfect baptism: she does not say, or so much as intimate, that it is, or can be, perfect baptism without the minister; and she means nothing else by minister here, than one authorised lawfully, as is plain by the above-said articles, and by all other her public acts whatsoever.

13. And what this lawful authority is, the preface to her book of ordination determines and limits; for that is also another of her laws, viz. “that none shall be suffered to execute any of the functions

of a bishop, priest, or deacon, except he hath had formerly episcopal consecration or ordination." It is the function of those spiritual officers to baptise; and therefore this law of the Church says, that none shall be suffered to baptise except he hath had episcopal ordination. And for this, her just and necessary law, she appeals, in the very beginning of her said preface, not only to antiquity, but also to the testimony of the holy Scriptures themselves; that men may see she is not arbitrary in this injunction, but governed therein by that sacred law, which obliges her and all other churches, in this particular of episcopal ordination, to the end of the world. But to proceed,

14. It is to one or other of these lawful ministers that our Church, in another of her laws, does now confine and limit the ministration of baptism; and that is in her office for private baptism, when children are in danger of death; for by all the rubrics or rules of that office, it is required and commanded, that the "minister of the parish, or in his absence any other lawful minister that can be procured, shall baptise the child." The Church now provides no other baptiser; she leaves children to die without baptism, rather than give allowance to any other to baptise them in such cases of extremity: and can we believe, that if she thought lay baptism to be valid in its own nature, she would have made such laws as confine baptism to the minister of the parish, or any other lawful minister; insomuch that whosoever else should now attempt to baptise, in cases of

extremity, would involve himself in sin, by presuming, like Saul and others, to meddle in sacred matters, where neither God nor His Church have allowed him to concern himself? Can we piously believe that she denies even our princes, and consequently all other unauthorised laymen, to have the power of ministering sacraments, as we see she does by her articles; and in consequence of this, in her present office of private baptism, allow of no other than a lawful minister to baptise, when at the same time she teaches, that the sacraments are generally necessary to salvation, *i. e.* necessary to the salvation of all who can have them?—can a true apostolical Church, as ours is, be supposed to do all this, and yet esteem unauthorised lay baptisms to be valid? Does she mean that cases of necessity will make such things valid as are in their own nature invalid, and could never have had any validity at all but by virtue of a divine law? Could baptism have been good and valid for spiritual purposes, if Christ's law had not made it so? Is this law obeyed when an unauthorised person attempts to baptise? Is the pretended baptism he gives, the instituted ministration of Christian baptism? Does our Church believe it to be so? In what article of her religion does she own this? Where is it to be found? And if our defenders of those pretended baptisms do not tell us where, we must conclude that it is because they are not able. And, indeed, they cannot but know, that to make any baptism valid for supernatural purposes, there must

be a divine supernatural law ; they cannot be ignorant that our Church appeals to that law when she says, “ It is not lawful for any man to administer the sacraments before he be called and sent,” as in her twenty-third article ; and therefore she would not venture upon so bold an assertion, as that of the validity of such unauthorised baptisms, either in express or more general terms ; because she knows, and has therefore pronounced, them to be contrary to Christ’s institution, and for that reason has made her articles and laws to oblige us to obtain and adhere to no other than the authorised baptism. And that we may all be secured of obtaining this baptism, she is so very severe against the lawful minister who, by his negligence, suffers a child in danger of death to die without baptism, that in her sixty-ninth canon she thus censures him : “ If any minister, being duly, without any manner of collusion, informed of the weakness and danger of death of any infant unbaptised in his parish, and thereupon desired to go or come to the place where the said infant remaineth, to baptise the same, shall either wilfully refuse so to do, or of purpose, or of gross negligence, shall so defer the time, as, when he might conveniently have resort to the place and baptise the said infant, it dieth, through such his default, unbaptised,—the said minister shall be suspended for three months, and before his restitution shall acknowledge his fault, and promise before his ordinary that he will not wittingly incur the like again. Provided that where there is

a curate or a substitute, this constitution shall not extend to the parson or vicar himself, but to the *curate or substitute present.*" This censure she inflicts only upon the minister, or his curate *present*, because they only are the administrators of baptism; but certainly, if the lay father of the child, or any other lay persons in the family, were supposed by the Church to have in their power the valid ministration of baptism in such cases, the Church would have extended this censure against him or them also, for suffering such a child to die unbaptised: but this our Church would not do, because such persons, by her thirty-seventh canon, have not, upon any account whatsoever, the power of baptising.

15. I know that our author, and some others, will still tell me that I have not proved that our Church has, by her articles, canons, and rubrics, made or declared lay baptism to be invalid, because I have not produced any thing said by her that does in direct and express terms assert lay baptism to be null and void.

But I must, in answer to this, tell them, that this objection smells rank of fanaticism; all enemies to truth amuse the ignorant with this evasive way of arguing. Thus, the Quakers call for express texts of Scripture to prove the necessity of the Christian sacraments to the end of the world; the people called Anabaptists require express words of Scripture for the baptism of infants; the Sabbatarians, or seventh-day men, call for positive texts to prove the first day

of the week to be the Christian Sabbath ; and all our sectaries demand direct and express texts for the divine right of episcopacy : but these their clamours were never thought sufficient and just answers to the many proofs that have been brought for those doctrines from general texts of Scripture, as expounded by the universal practice of the pure primitive Church. Our author himself observes, in his twelfth page, that “ men may make premises, if they will ; but consequences make themselves : if baptism be absolutely necessary from a *lawful hand*, and a *lay hand* be not a lawful hand, then *lay baptism* is not the baptism that is absolutely necessary ; it must therefore be had from a hand that is lawful.” Here he makes a full period ; and this he argues to shew King James I.’s inconsistency with himself,¹ in asserting the absolute necessity of baptism from a lawful hand, and yet denying what he calls rebaptisation to those who were baptised by lay hands, whom the king affirmed also to be unlawful hands. This argument of our author against King James stands equally good in the present case before us ; for the Church has made such premises, by her articles and laws, as determine, that to administer sacraments unauthorised hands are unlawful hands ; the law by which she comes to know this has also determined, that it is necessary for us to receive sacraments from lawful hands,—the consequence makes itself, that baptism by unauthorised hands is not the baptism that is necessary ; therefore,

[¹ See Editor’s Preface.]

by the laws of Christ and of our Church, it must be had from lawful, *i. e.* authorised hands: this we gain from our author's argument against King James. But, not to put these gentlemen off thus, it is notorious that public acts or laws, either of Church or state, which empower men to confer such privileges on others as they could not obtain before such public acts or laws were made,—I say it is evident that such public laws are generally made in such terms as do not expressly null and make void the attempts of uncommissioned persons, who pretend to give the privileges granted by those public acts; and yet those public acts or laws do, by necessary consequence, invalidate and make void the attempts of all uncommissioned pretenders; for this reason, because the granting a commission to confer on others such particular and special privileges plainly implies that those privileges are not to be had, under the present circumstance of things, but by virtue of that commission; else what need of the legislator's giving any commission at all? It is enough that the law prescribes a commission; this limiting act of the law excludes the uncommissioned, and this exclusion of them makes their acts, for which the commission was appointed by the law, to be mere nullities; as is plain in cases of naturalisations and freedoms, to be granted and conferred, according to law, by commissioned officers and magistrates; for if aliens and strangers, in such cases, apply themselves to others to be naturalised or made free, they will find themselves mis-

taken in their imaginary privileges ; and notwithstanding all the formal pretences of the uncommissioned persons they applied themselves to, they will be all as destitute of a freedom as they were before such their application ; because the thing they sought for was, by the law, appointed to be conferred on them only by commissioned persons, and without this law they had no right at all to such a freedom.

16. This is the very case of baptism, appointed by Christ Himself to be performed by His commissioned officers ; and His law has discovered to us no others that can minister it, for the receiving of us into the number of His children, and making us free denizens of His spiritual kingdom : this is a privilege unspeakably great and glorious ; but, without our submitting to this law of His, we have no assurance of obtaining it : if we do not receive our title to it at their hands whom He has commissioned to convey it, we frustrate the design of His law, and consequently receive not that which His law intended us, because He committed the authority of vesting us with it only to those who bear His commission ; and our refusing or neglecting to receive the title to this privilege at their hands, is a despising of His authority, whose commission they are vested with, and consequently a putting ourselves out of the condition prescribed to us by the fundamental law of Christ, the supreme Legislator of the Christian Church.

Our Church, in conformity to this original law of our Saviour, has made articles, canons, and rubrics,

which assert this power to be in no others but His commissioned officers. She denies it to belong to any other man, nay, to our very princes; and does therefore in all her public acts require that we apply ourselves to the lawful minister for baptism; she provides no other for cases of greatest extremity: and what is this but confining the power of baptism to the lawful minister, and therefore of excluding all other from that power; and, in consequence of that, nulling and making void their acts, though not in express words, yet by the necessary consequence of her laws, agreeable to those laws that were made by Christ Himself?

Where does the Scripture, in express terms, null and make void a baptism performed without water? Certainly no where; yet the law of Christ makes it null, because it requires water. Where does the Scripture, in positive terms, pronounce baptism null and void when performed without the form in the name of the Trinity? No where; yet it is null and void by Christ's law, because that law requires the form in the name of the Trinity. So, lastly, where does the sacred Scripture, in direct, plain, positive terms, say, that baptism by one not commissioned is void and of no effect? This is a question will please the adversary, and I assure him that I know of no such positive direct text; and yet such a baptism is null and void by Christ's institution, because that law of His requires that baptism should be performed by a commissioned person. And I

challenge our author to prove that the law of Christ lays a greater stress upon either water or the form in the name of the Trinity, than it does upon the commission ; and if it does not, then the same law that nulls a baptism done without either water or the form, does necessarily null a baptism performed without a commission. And consequently our Church's articles, canons, and rubrics, asserting and requiring this commission, as the original law itself does, must necessarily null and void a baptism performed without this commission, though she does not expressly do so, any more than the original law of her Saviour does.

17. Our author's relation of the conference at Hampton Court¹ is nothing to the purpose ; for the opinions delivered there (p. 6, 7, 8, and 9) do not amount to any public act of the Church of England. King James disliked the former allowance of women and laics baptising. Archbishop Whitgift affirmed, that then it was not allowed, but censured by the bishops in their visitations. The bishop of Worcester (Babington) : that the first reformers made the rubric in King Edward's book ambiguously, because otherwise perhaps the book would not then have passed the parliament. Bishop Bancroft : that the rubric intended a permission of private persons to baptise in a case of necessity ; that it was agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church ; and for this, appeals to Acts ii., where mention is made of three thousand being baptised in a day, which could

[¹ See Editor's Preface.]

not be supposed to be done by St. Peter himself: but the answer to the baptising of so many in so short a time is easy, without supposing unauthorised lay baptisers; for all the apostles were then at Jerusalem; and if each of them had taken his share, it would not have amounted to above 250 persons to be baptised by an apostle in a day, which might easily have been compassed by him, considering that it was then the custom to baptise in rivers or brooks, where ten or twenty persons might have been baptised at once, by one apostle's applying water to them all at a time, with only once saying, "I baptise ye in the name of the Father," &c., if there had been any need of it, as I think there was not; because the apostles might authorise, by their power, a sufficient number of persons to do the work, as we find St. Peter did upon the occasion of Cornelius and his company's baptism; for the Scripture tells us, that *he commanded them to be baptised*, &c. (Acts x. 48); they were not baptised by unauthorised persons, but by such as acted by the apostle's command: as here also, it is plain that the three thousand were not baptised by persons who acted without, much less in opposition to, the authority of the apostles; for *they continued stedfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship*;¹ which they could not be said to have done, if they had acted without, or in opposition to, their authority and commission; and therefore their case is no ways applicable to our dissenters, who act in

[¹ Acts ii. 42.]

opposition to the apostolic authority and power now lodged in Christian bishops. But, to return to the Hampton-Court conference, King James pressed the necessity of baptism, if lawfully to be had, *i. e.* from lawful ministers, by whom alone, and no private person in any case, it may be administered, says the king ; though, continues his majesty, I utterly dislike all rebaptisation on those whom women or laics have baptised. The bishop of Winton (Bilson) said, that to deny private persons to baptise in case of necessity, were to cross all antiquity, and the common practice of the Church ; it being a rule agreed on amongst divines, that the minister is not of the essence of the sacrament. King James answered, though he be not of the essence of the sacrament, yet is he of the essence of the right and lawful ministry thereof;¹ to which that bishop made no reply. Now, what can any one learn from all this, concerning the judgment of the Church of England ? We have here only five or six members of the Church debating this matter ; some for, and others against, the rubric in King Edward's book. But in this whole conference, nothing that can be brought so much as to countenance our dissenters' and other unauthorised lay baptisms ; for the question was, upon the whole, only, whether the Church, *i. e.* the bishops thereof, could or should authorise laymen or midwives to baptise in case of necessity. Whatever may

[¹ Taking for his ground the commission of Christ to His disciples (Matt. xxviii. 20), “ Go, preach and baptise.”]

be the result of such a dispute, our unauthorised baptisms can gain nothing by it ; for if our bishops could (as our first reformers, bred up under the Church of Rome, seem to think they could) give laymen such authority, yet it is fact that, as our Church's laws now stand, the bishops have not so authorised laymen ; for the old rubric was altered upon this conference, and afterwards the alteration was confirmed by convocation, on purpose to keep out lay baptisers, even in times of necessity ; whereby the Church's former act, of allowing lay members of her communion to baptise, was repealed, and therefore our dissenters' baptisms are unauthorised baptisms : they are also void of the least pretence to necessity, being a deliberate and wilful choice of their own, in opposition to the authority of the Church : and by what rule they can be valid, is not to be imagined, since they are not so by any law, either of our Church or of the pure primitive Church of Christ.

18. Our author acknowledges (page 17), " that our Church does now call for and require a lawful minister,—one episcopally ordained ; that she neither allows nor permits any other to baptise ; that she hereby *implicitly forbids* any other ; and inquires after, censures, and punishes, where she can, such as administer baptism, if they are not qualified lawfully to do it : and yet he does not think the Church of England does, by any or all these rubrics (*i. e.* of private baptism), intend to make or declare lay baptism to be invalid ; for if it did (says he, page 18), it

would certainly and expressly order such children as were only baptised by laymen to be rebaptised." But I must desire this gentleman to think again ; for, notwithstanding his first thoughts, these limiting acts of the Church, taken in conjunction with her articles, which make the commission essential to the administration of baptism, do, by necessary consequence, null and make void unauthorised baptism, for the several reasons I have before insisted on ; and if these baptisms are so made null and void, then there must necessarily follow what our author calls rebaptisation, and which I term to be no other than the one instituted Christian baptism. To which, give me leave to add, that in our present office for private baptism there is a rubric which prohibits rebaptisations, in such a manner as necessarily implies a command to rebaptise, in our author's language, in some particular cases ; and the rubric is this, " If the minister shall find, by the answers of such as bring the child, *that all things were done as they ought to be*, then shall not he christen the child again, but shall receive him as one of the flock of true Christian people, saying thus : ' I certify you that in this case all is *well done*, and according unto *due order*, concerning the baptising of this child.' " Here is a prohibition of christening again, upon this, and this only condition, " that all things were done as they ought to be ; " which is a plain intimation, that if all things were not done as they ought to be, the minister of the parish must christen the child, otherwise how can he

receive the child as appointed, and tell us, in the Church's words, "all is well done, and according unto due order," when all is not well done, and due order has not been observed? The "all things" which the Church, in her articles, canons, and rubrics, requires to be done, are, that the baptism be performed by an authorised person, that it be with water, and that it be done in the name of the Trinity; she, as our Saviour Himself did before her, defines all these three to be necessary; and if she seems to give any preference to one more than another, it is to the commission by which the baptiser acts, as we may see in her several articles before discoursed on: however, by our author's own confession (page 17), she allows of no other instead of the commissioned baptiser, therefore if another did it, the design of the Church is frustrated; this is contrary to due order, and therefore cannot be certified to be well done, as this rubric designed it, consequently all things *were not* "done as they ought to be;" therefore what was not done as it ought to be must now be done,—that is, the child must be baptised by the lawful minister,—to make good the truth of this rubric, "I certify you," &c. For can it be believed by any reasonable man, that our Church requires her priests to utter such untruths as these, concerning persons washed or sprinkled by unauthorised lay teachers, such as our dissenters are: "I certify you that in this case all is well done, and according unto *due order*," when it is so ill done, and directly contrary to order, that it is

wicked, because not lawful, as being contrary to the very institution of baptism, as she has sufficiently taught us ; and it is also directly in opposition to her own express order and command ? Is all well done, when Christ's and the Church's laws are transgressed ? Are all things according unto due order, when our Saviour's and the Church's rules are opposed ? This the Church does not require her priests to affirm—it is abominable to suppose that she does any thing like it ; and therefore she does not in this rubric enjoin the minister of the parish so to receive persons who have only been washed and sprinkled by unauthorised lay teachers ; and consequently expects, by this her law, that they be qualified to have those words verified concerning them ; and that can be, under the present circumstances, by no other means than that of baptism by one commissioned to administer it.

19. But, in opposition to all this, our author tries to prove, “that the Church of England hath, in the rubrics for private baptism, declared *her judgment* to be, that (in the words of Bishop Bilson) *the minister is not of the essence of the sacrament.*” And this he labours at in pages 20, 21, and 22. And the whole of what he says there amounts only to this, that because the Church in those rubrics does not call the lawful minister an essential of baptism, but inserts this clause before her two last questions, viz. “Because some things essential to this sacrament may happen to be omitted through fear or haste in such

times of extremity, therefore I demand farther of you, with what matter was this child baptised ? with what words was this child baptised ?" — that therefore the Church determines the water and form of words in the name of the Trinity to be the only essentials belonging to the sacrament ; because she does not say, If it cannot appear that the child was baptised by a lawful minister, let it be conditionally baptised ; all that she says is, " If they which bring the infant, &c., do make such uncertain answers, &c., as that it cannot appear that the child was baptised with water, in the name of the Father, &c., which are essential parts of baptism, then let the priest baptise it in the form, &c. ' If thou art not already baptised, N., I baptise thee,' &c." From all which he concludes, that, in the judgment of the Church of England, the minister is not of the essence of the sacrament. Or rather, if he means any thing at all to the purpose, that the minister is not essential to the administration of the sacrament. This is the full scope of all that he says. And to this I answer, the Church put in these distinguishing words of " essential parts of baptism," concerning water and the form in the name of the Trinity, to oppose the heresy of some who denied the necessity of water ; and of the Socinians, and other heretics, who denied the doctrine of the Trinity, and refused to baptise in that name ; and this she did, not with a design to exclude the necessity of the lawful minister. But further, I affirm that the inference he draws—viz. that in the judgment

of the Church of England there is nothing else essential to the ministration of baptism, and therefore that the lawful minister is not essential to the ministration thereof—is a false conclusion ; because the Church, in this office, does not pronounce those two things to be the only essentials relating to the sacrament ; which she must have done, if she designed, by this office, to have excluded the minister from having any essential relation thereto ; her calling those two by the name of “some things essential to this sacrament,” or, in other words, “essential parts of baptism,” plainly leaves room for the commissioned officer, who is the person essentially related thereto ; they are the essential parts of the thing to be administered, and he is the essential officer who is to administer it ; for if the Church did here design to exclude the minister from being essential to the administration of the sacrament, she would contradict her own articles, which teach, that he is the essential administrator ; and we must not allow that the Church is contradictory to herself.

The Church, in her thirtieth article, speaking of both kinds, viz. the bread and wine in the sacrament of the Lord’s supper, calls them “both the parts of the Lord’s sacrament.” Will our author from hence infer, that bread and wine given seriously in a religious manner by a layman or woman, as the Lord’s sacrament, is therefore the Lord’s sacrament ? Will he say, that the priest is not as nearly related to the administration of this sacrament, as the bread and

wine are to the sacrament itself? For the Church here calls nothing but bread and wine the parts of this sacrament; but in other of her laws she makes the lawful minister essential to the ministration of those parts; and therefore bread and wine are not all the essentials relating to the sacrament, though this thirtieth article mentions no more than bread and wine. Suppose a particular law should say, that signing and sealing a covenant, for example, are essential parts of the covenant; would any one who knew the nature of a covenant from hence conclude, that the law meant thereby, that there is nothing else that has any essential relation to the covenant? Does not every body that knows what a covenant is, agree that, notwithstanding this mode of speaking, another law requires that the signing and sealing must be by a proper person, and that therefore this other law makes that proper person an essential relation to the covenant, insomuch as that it is void by law if not signed and sealed by him? This is a very familiar instance, and exactly agreeable to the case before us; for the Church by these rubrics says, that water and the form in the name of the Trinity are essential parts of the covenant of baptism; but every one who knows the Church's laws concerning this covenant, knows that she does not hereby say, that there is nothing else that has any essential relation to baptism; for, notwithstanding this way of speaking in her rubrics, "essential parts of baptism," there are other laws of hers that require these essential parts

of baptism to be applied by an authorised person, and that do therefore make this authorised person to be an essential relation to this covenant of baptism ; insomuch as that it is void by those other laws, if not performed by him. This is evident by the Church's own public acts ; for in her twenty-third, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and thirty-seventh articles of religion, &c., founded upon Christ's institution of baptism, which is the only original law by which she and all others can judge what are the essentials of baptism, and of the administration thereof,—I say, it is certain from these, and I hope I have proved it, that our Church has pronounced and determined, that the lawful minister is essential to the administration of baptism ; and because he is essential to the administration of it, therefore she secures to us that he shall administer it by her sixty-ninth canon, and by these rubrics, as I have before observed. This being done, the Church had no need then to make further inquiry into the essential of the administration, because her preceding rubrics, and the true answer to the first question, “ By whom was this child baptised ? ” had already satisfied the laws of Christ and His Church concerning the essential administrator, and all occasion of further inquiry concerning him was taken away ; and therefore no need of any express rule for conditional baptism, upon supposition of the want before of a lawful minister. But if ever such an accident as the want of a lawful minister should happen, the Church has provided also for that, in a more

general rubric of this office, as I have before observed in my eighteenth section. To which I add, that the minister of the parish is not bound to ask any questions at all concerning the child's previous baptism, if it was not baptised by a lawful minister; for the rubric says, "But if the child were baptised by any other lawful minister, *then* the minister of the parish shall examine and try whether the child be lawfully baptised or no." He is then, *when the child has been baptised before by a lawful minister*, to try and examine; therefore not obliged to try or examine any thing about it, when it is pretendedly baptised by an unauthorised person, for that saves him the inquiry whether it was lawfully, because it was unlawfully baptised: so careful is the Church to secure the baptism by a lawful minister, because her articles make him essential to the administration of baptism. Her business was next to secure the essentials of the thing administered, because even some of them might have been omitted by the haste, &c. of the essential administrator; for the office, or authority of the baptiser, though essential to the administration of this sacrament, is not sufficient to give validity by itself, without the essentials of the thing to be administered, which are water and the form in the name of the Trinity. These are the "some things essential" to this sacrament, which the Church speaks of; and the commission is the other essential to the administration of it, which the Church also equally asserts in her articles. Without these three essentials, required

by Christ's institution, and the Church's articles, canons, and rubrics,—the Church knows of no perfect baptism; and it is only upon the account of all (*i. e.* these) things being done as they ought to be, that she prohibits, by a following rubric in this office, a rebaptisation.

Before I take my leave of our author upon this head, I must recommend to him these two memorandums, which are very much to the purpose of what I am answering to his objection.

First, That the authorised minister being essential to the administration of the sacrament causes, that when an unauthorised person attempts to administer it, he does nothing in the design of the law; just as when a porter attempts by his pretended authority to give a freedom of this city, though with all the other formalities required, yet gives no freedom, because the chamberlain is the essential administrator of freedoms by the law. And,

Secondly, That the essential matter and words of a sacrament to be administered, may be ready at hand, and yet signify nothing to the purpose of a sacrament, for want of due application by an essential minister; just as the essential words of a covenant may be ready drawn up, the parchment stamped, the sealing-wax dropped, the impression of the seal made thereon, and it may be signed too, and yet signify nothing to the purpose of a covenant, for want of either the principal who is to sign, seal, and deliver the deed, or else his attorney, appointed by him to

do it in his stead ;—let who will else do this, it amounts to nothing ; it is a mere nullity in the eye of the law to all intents and purposes : though the law should omit to say so in express words, yet the very nature of the thing, as the law stands, does necessarily infer that it is null and void. And if the law should be so express as to declare it null for want of being stamped, it does not thence follow that it is good and valid when only stamped, and not signed and sealed by the proper person ; for the want of this proper person will still make it null, though the letter of the law does not expressly null it for that want.

20. I had like to have forgot to take notice of another thing insinuated by this author, which in the opinion of some people may be thought very material, and it is in pages 18, 19, and 32, &c., where he would argue, that the Church of England does not necessarily invalidate lay baptism by requiring in her office of baptism that the lawful minister should baptise : he says, that the invalidity of lay baptism is no necessary consequence of this order of our Church, because the Church of Rome in all the rubrics of her office of baptism only mentions the priest, the *sacerdos*; she tells us in none of them that she permits or allows of any other but a *sacerdos*, and yet does not in consequence of these her rubrics, which seem to confine the power of baptism to the priest, make null and void lay baptism ; for every body knows that she allows it to be good and valid. This is what our author thinks a good argument ; but the answer

thereto is exceeding easy. The Church of England restrains and confines the power of baptising to the lawful minister by all her present public acts ; she no where, either in her canons, articles, or rubrics, allows any other this power for cases of greatest extremity, and therefore we reckon that her design is to invalidate lay baptism : but the Church of Rome seems to confine this power to the *sacerdos* in all the rubrics of her office, though in reality, by her public canons, she declares that she gives that power to laymen ; and by these her canons now in force, which are her laws as much as her rubrics are, she tells all the world that her rubrics are not designed to confine the power of baptism only to the priest, but that she also allows of the validity of lay baptism, which the Church of England no where does. And therefore the argument from the rubrics of the Church of Rome to the rubrics of the Church of England is utterly false.

21. I am now come to what our author calls his second proof (page 23) ; and to it I shall tack his third and last (page 36), being both alike substantial, and to be overthrown by the same arguments. His second proof, that the Church hath by no public act of hers made or declared lay baptism to be invalid, is taken “from the silence of the Church of England in this particular, that she has in no public act of hers ordered such as have been baptised by lay hands to be rebaptised by a lawful minister ; but that the bishops, ever since the restoration, confirmed such

baptised persons, as well as those that were baptised by lawful ministers; that most people will conclude from hence, that a bishop who so confirmed held those baptisms to be valid; and he thinks this is as plain as if it were deduced from definitions, axioms, and propositions" (page 27, &c.). This last is a pretty rub upon the author of *Lay Baptism invalid*; but how good the argument is, let the intelligent reader judge. His third proof, as he terms it, is fetched "from the silence of the preachers and the writers of the Church of England in this point, from 1660 to the year 1700,—and from my lords the bishops giving no charge to their clergy in their visitations, &c., that all lay-baptised persons must be baptised anew; and he says (pages 37, 38), "if this silence of the ecclesiastical governors, of the parish-priests, and of the writers of controversy, be not a proof of the Church of England's judgment in the matter, I must despair of knowing what can be one." For this reason,—because he knows in his conscience that his whole book is built upon no better foundation than this pretended silence; he insists upon it, that "the bishops' confirmations [of lay-baptised persons] in 1661 and since, and the Church's ordering none of them to be rebaptised, is a good proof" (page 29). I suppose he here means the Church's not ordering any of them to be rebaptised; for the Church's ordering none of them has another meaning than I believe he designed.

But in answer to all this, I have already endeav-

voured to prove, that the Church in convocation, whose voice we may still hear, if we please, in her articles, canons, and rubrics, is not silent, but speaks loudly enough to us concerning this matter; and I know of no other voice of the Church of England but that. If any would obtrude upon us the practice of particular members, how great and numerous soever, and call that the principle and doctrine of our Church, before we give him credit, he must allow us to compare their practice with the Church's written and published articles and laws; and if we find practices inconsistent with these, we must prefer the latter, and reject and bewail the former. Who tells this author that the bishops confirmed lay-baptised persons as such? that their lordships did it with a particular regard to the validity of such baptisms?

What if I should affirm, that though, during the time of the long unnatural rebellion, the episcopal ministers were thrown out of their livings, yet they performed their spiritual functions, and baptised the children of the members of the Church of England; and that almost all the teachers who got into their benefices by complying with the wickedness of the times, had before been episcopally ordained, and so were empowered to baptise; and that, upon these accounts, the bishops, when they confirmed after the restoration, might not suppose that any were brought to be confirmed by them but such as had been episcopally baptised; and that they did not expect any of our anti-episcopal dissenters' children, who were otherwise

baptised, should be brought to them for confirmation? What if I should insist upon these things? Can our author prove to the contrary? If he can, then how does he know but the bishops of that time, subject to like failings and passions with other men, were loath, by such discriminating acts, to rouse the turbulent spirit of rebellion, then but hardly laid asleep by the restoration? What if the experience they had had of Archbishop Laud's fate—who was brought to the block by fanatic fury, only for endeavouring to restore and establish much smaller matters in the Church—might make them not willing to expose themselves and the Church to the insatiable rage of such merciless persecutors, by their openly and in direct terms proclaiming anti-episcopal dissenters to be not incorporated members of Christ's Church? Is it any new thing for good men to be thus intimidated? Is not the great apostle St. Peter an instance of this frailty of human nature? See his behaviour with respect to the Jews and Gentiles, for which St. Paul *withstood him to the face* (Gal. ii. 11, 12). St. Barnabas also was carried away with the same fault, to temporise with the Jewish Christians; for which St. Paul loudly proclaims, that *they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the Gospel* (ver. 14). Indeed, the very best of men, without any affront to their character, yea, and very great bodies of men too, have been, still are, and always will be, in this world, liable to infirmities; and must practices consequent thereupon be used as

arguments against the known laws of that Church whereof they are members and even governors? Must these be called such proofs so clear and so evident, that we must despair of proofs, if these are not so? This is amazing. But what is not a proof to those who will have it one? However, to bring this matter to a short issue: from particular practices to principles there is no argument. Let our author prove that the confirmation of persons baptised by unauthorised baptisers is a necessary consequence of our Church's articles and laws concerning baptism and confirmation; and when he has done this, then I fairly promise him publicly to acknowledge, that it is the judgment of the Church of England that unauthorised baptisms, and consequently our dissenters' baptisms, are good and valid. But this he has not yet done, and I dare further add, that he never will; therefore the Church's laws stand against him; and his instances of promiscuous confirmations, among which some who never were baptised, either in reality or in pretence, have been admitted for want of due inquiry, are no more arguments of the Church's judgment, that unauthorised baptisms are good and valid, than the confirmation of unbaptised persons is an argument that our Church esteems baptism not necessary as a previous qualification to be confirmed by the bishop.

22. As for the silence of our writers of controversy, it is plain that some of them did insist upon the invalidity of our dissenters' ordinations: I need

not mention particulars ; they are in most men's hands who have addicted themselves to the study of such books. The consequence of this invalidity the dissenters took very heinously, for they charged such writers with it, that they thereby nulled their ministrations : those writers did not deny the charge, and therefore in effect owned the consequence ; and put it upon the dissenters to get clear of it, by proving the validity of their ordinations, if they could. The separatists knew as well as every body else, that our controversial writers denying the validity of their orders was a consequential denying of the validity of their ministrations ; and therefore they laboured hard, though all in vain, to prove that their ordinations were good and valid ; for if they had not attempted this, they easily perceived that their interest would have sunk by the departure of their deluded proselytes ; who otherwise would have concluded, as from a first principle of Christianity, that if their teachers were not ministers of Christ, they could not have the power of ministering Christ's sacraments ; this is so natural a conclusion, that you may hear it always drawn from the invalidity of ordinations, by the honest and sincere of all parties, whose minds are not corrupted by other false principles. Tell but an honest Presbyterian, Independent, or Anabaptist dissenter, that his teachers are not ministers of Christ, he will presently stare with wonder and amazement at your uncharitableness, as he thinks it, because he thence gathers that you deny his teachers' ministrations.

tions, and that you mean thereby that they and their dependents are not Christians. The dissenting teachers know this so well, that it is one of their master-tricks to deceive their hearers and readers with these glorious titles concerning themselves, ‘the reverend such a one, minister of God’s word, minister of the gospel :’ take away this, and their loaves will fail, because men will naturally fly from such pretenders, when they discover those titles not to belong to them, concluding that they are destitute of the power of ministering Christ’s ordinances to them. This natural consequence is the true reason of their quarrels against not only our controversial writers, who have denied the validity of their orders, but also our Church, who requires the best of their teachers to be episcopally ordained to minister the Christian sacraments ; inferring from hence, that those writers, and our Church too, do, by nulling their orders, make null and void their ministrations. This our author doubtless knows as well as I do, if he would speak out ; but whether he will or no, that Church and her writers, who agree together to render the ordinations of our dissenters null and void, do by necessary consequence say that their ministrations are also invalid, if we may give any credit to the understanding of not only Churchmen, but even the dissenters themselves, who take it so hard at their hands : and indeed it must be acknowledged on all accounts, that if the consequences are uncharitable, the premises are so too, for they are inseparable from one another in the sense of all un-

biassed understandings. But of these things enough. I have only a few things more to this writer, and shall then conclude.

23. In his thirty-fourth page he discovers himself plainly enough, and gives us a simile whereby to illustrate the validity of lay baptism; which, notwithstanding his declarations to the contrary, is an argument that he has a mind to say something about the merits of the cause, and to endeavour to prove lay baptism to be good and valid. His simile is about the coinage of current money, which, "though it be by the law appropriated to the prince, and made highly criminal for any but his substitutes to coin it, yet upon supposition that another should coin money of the same value, standard, stamp, &c., as the law requires, though the coiner would be justly punishable, the money so coined by him would be current; and the prince would not order it to be re-coined, nor the people refuse to take it." This, I think, is the only objection against lay baptism's being null and void, that remains to be answered: and these makers of similes, or comparisons of things, are so very unhappy in their choice, that they pitch upon nothing that is proper to their undertaking; for they are sure, whether through design I will not judge, to omit such similitudes as have any thing parallel to the matter disputed; and so they fail of their argument, because where instances are not parallel, arguments will not hold. This is our author's case: he should have contrived something else instead of money

coined; for that is no ways parallel to a person baptised; because money is an inanimate senseless thing, man is the direct contrary: money is incapable of consciousness, and therefore of any law relating to its coining; man is a rational being, capable of religion, and therefore conscious to himself, upon information, whether he has obeyed the law of baptism or no: money neither enjoys any benefit, nor suffers any hurt, from being right or wrong coined; but man is to partake of and enjoy infinite advantages by being rightly baptised, and has no promise of obtaining them without such baptism. Lastly, money being but mere inactive matter cannot be supposed to be answerable for concurring with the crime of the unlawful coiner; but man, even in his infancy, by his representatives, who undertake for him, is active in his baptism, and concurs with any essential crime committed against the fundamental law of baptism by him who attempted to baptise; and especially considering that he expressly or virtually takes all that his sureties did for him upon himself, when he comes to years of discretion: so that, there being such an infinite disparity between money coined by an unlawful coiner, and man baptised by an unauthorised hand, the currency of such money is no argument for the goodness and validity of such unauthorised baptism; and therefore such baptisms are null and void, notwithstanding our author's vain attempt, by this comparison, to prove them as good and valid as the authorised baptisms.

24. In the thirty-fifth page he tells his reader, concerning baptism by dissenting teachers, thus : “ abundance of people, I doubt, are easily led to think their baptisms to be invalid, because they think, if their baptisms be allowed, *the rest* of their ministerial performances must be also valid. But *this* was held to be *no consequence* by the ancient Church of Christ, nor is it a consequence held by the Church of England. *It is baptism alone* that is not invalidated and made null, though conferred by an unlawful minister, or a mere lay Christian,” &c.

Here is a plain acknowledgment, that the other ministrations of our dissenting teachers are invalid ; for, says he, “ *it is baptism alone* that is not invalidated.” But upon what foundation does our author intimate that their other ministrations are null ? Are they not established upon the same foundation as that of baptism ? Is it not the same Lord who instituted them ? And are they not equally positive institutions of our religion ? What is it that makes the difference ? By what rule is their baptism valid ? Or is it valid, though founded upon no rule at all ? By what law are their other ministrations—viz. of ordination, consecration of bread and wine, excommunication, &c.—null and void, if their baptism is not so ? Have they been authorised to baptise ? No ; they never were : let him shew us who gave them that authority ? Are not their other ministrations null, because they were never authorised for them ? Certainly that is the reason of their nullity. And the very same

reason stands good for the nulling of their baptisms. Are not their other ministrations not only without, but in opposition to, the Church, and therefore void? Their baptism is so too, and therefore invalid also. Are not the laws of Christ and His Church equally levelled against their baptisms, as well as against their other ministrations? Yes, they are. Have those laws provided more for their baptisms than for their other ministrations? No, they have not. Therefore the same laws of Christ and His Church that null those their other ministrations, do null and void their baptisms too; and his saying that "this was held to be no consequence by the ancient Church of Christ," is a notorious fallacy put upon ignorant readers; but it cannot be palmed upon those who are acquainted with the state of the ancient Church: for it is well known that the primitive times were not exercised with any such anti-episcopal baptisms as these where-with the Church is pestered in our days, and therefore the ancient Church has said nothing about them.

25. As for what this writer says, that I may know, concerning the twenty-third and twenty-sixth articles of our Church, viz., "that they were made by many of the same people who made the office of baptism and rubrics in 1548 and 1552; and that therefore the allowance of lay baptism was not thought to clash, or be inconsistent with, those articles" (page 39),—I answer, that their so making those rubrics is a sign that they did not allow of the validity of unauthorised baptisms, such as our dis-

sentrers' are ; and for this, I must desire the reader to turn back to what I have said in my fourth section, page 177, 178.

26. I might here speak to his appendix, and the letter annexed, to what Mrs. Baldwin calls the second edition of his book ; but they deserve no particular answer, being foreign to this author's declared undertaking, viz. to shew the judgment of the Church ; and the only design of my answer thereto, is to let the world see, by her public acts, what her real opinion is of this matter. Mr. Hooker's judgment, be it what it will, is no standard for either of us in this dispute. Mr. Thorndike's expressions make nothing for unauthorised baptism ; for his opinions concerning lay baptism are plainly founded upon this notion, that bishops can give this power to laymen, that they shall baptise in case of extremity and want of a priest : this is not the thing at present under debate ; the pretended baptisms of our dissenters are of another nature, not authorised by the bishops, but plainly in opposition to episcopacy itself. Dr. Cousin's letter to Mr. Cordel is founded upon presbyterian and some popish doctors' notions (yet not positively, but dubiously, proposed by him) concerning ordinations ; so that the whole superstructure of that letter is only an amusement, having no sure foundation whereon to settle a doubtful mind. It is too long for me at present to take notice of the particulars of that letter ; it shall suffice me to say, that the generality of our divines who were exiles in France with

Dr. Cosin, and the laity too, refused to communicate with the French Protestants; and even Dr. Cosin, though he went sometimes to their temples at Charenton, yet never would communicate with them in what they called the sacraments, by reason of their want of a mission: this is what is well attested, and the evidence can be produced; but I have no need to enlarge and be particular upon it, because in truth it is no part of my present undertaking, which is confined to the laws of the Church of England as they now stand. Hooker, Thorndike, and Cosin, be their opinions what they will, are of no weight in this debate, since the judgment of the Church of England is not limited to their particular sentiments: I can produce men as great as they, who thought very differently from what they did; but this would not be suitable to my subject, which is only to let the reader see what our Church, by her public acts, has taught us to believe concerning unauthorised baptisms.

Suppose our author could have further produced any sufficient evidence, that a select number of bishops of our Church, in former times, since the Restoration, had favoured his opinion so far, as, at a private consult, either at Lambeth or any other episcopal palace, to give it under their hands, that unauthorised baptism, when done with water, and these words, “in the name of the Father,” &c. is good and valid; suppose he could shew us, or had published, as I dare say he cannot, that they had signed such their opinion, drawn up in a *declaration* to this effect:

"Forasmuch as sundry persons have of late, by their preaching, writing, and discourses, possessed the minds of many people with doubts and scruples about the validity of their baptism, to their great trouble and disquiet,—

"We, the archbishops and bishops, whose names are underwritten, have thought it incumbent on us to declare our several opinions in conformity with the judgment and practice of the Catholic Church, and of the Church of England in particular; that such persons as have been baptised in or with water, 'in the name of the Father,' &c., ought not to be baptised again. And to prevent any such practice in our respective dioceses, we do require our several clergy that they presume not to baptise *any adult person whatsoever*, without giving us timely notice, as the rubric requires."¹

Even such an instance as this, if he could produce it, would not amount to the judgment of the Church of England; such private subscriptions about opinions are not our Church's public acts,—they can only be found in her determinations, agreed on by a lawful convocation. And though any particular bishop can enjoin his clergy not to "baptise adult persons ordinarily, without giving him timely notice, as the rubric requires," yet it is not to be supposed that any pious bishop would lay this injunction so strictly on his clergy, as to hinder them from baptising an adult,

[¹ See Author's Preface, p. lxiii.]

without such notice, *in articulo mortis*, when timely notice cannot be given to the bishop: but as for the former part of such a supposed declaration of a select number of bishops, it is not to be imagined that a lawful convocation of the clergy of our Church would affirm, “that such persons as have been baptised in or with water, ‘in the name of the Father,’ &c., ought not to be baptised again;” for this, we all know, is popery. Such a determination would infer, that not only women’s baptism, but any other, though performed by a boy or a girl,—a stage-player, an unbaptised Jew, or a heathen,—if with water, and the form of words in the name of the Trinity, is *that one baptism* which Christ instituted for the remission of sins. Our Church, God be praised, and the Catholic Church too, have made no such latitudinarian determinations as this would be; and we ought to pray that the Holy Spirit of God may preserve all our sacred synods from making such decrees. It is, I believe, just and reasonable for us to hope, that the piety and wisdom of our clergy is so great, as that we need not fear their passing such an opinion into a public act of our Church, since their zeal for the authority of our Saviour’s institutions will not suffer them to assert that which tends directly to the destruction of their own sacred office, and consequently of even Christianity itself.

As for “baptising again,” it is not a term to be allowed,—the Church always abhorred the notion; when a first baptism was false, it was not called bap-

tism, but a profane washing; and when the act of washing was repeated, it was not called rebaptisation, or “baptising again,” but *Christian baptism*, *Christ's baptism*, or *instituted baptism*. St. Cyprian constantly adhered to this, and hated the term of *baptised again*; and so did the Catholic Church, when they required persons to be baptised, who had only before been washed with water without the form in the name of the Trinity. The reason is equally strong for persons to be baptised by a lawful minister, who were only before washed, though with the form of words in the name of the Trinity, by unauthorised hands and such as act in opposition to episcopacy itself. With these latter profane washings the ancient Church was not exercised,—she never had them under her consideration; and therefore a declaration, as before supposed, could not be founded on the judgment and practice of the Catholic Church. But it is time for me to conclude.

27. I humbly hope I have proved, that the Church has made such articles, canons, and rubrics, as do by necessary consequence null and void unauthorised baptisms;—the consequence of this nullity is, the necessity of episcopal baptism to those who have been so invalidly baptised. To disprove this, our author must enter into the merits of the cause, whether he will or no; because it is affirmed, and endeavoured to be proved, by the author of *Lay Baptism invalid*, that Christ's institution nulls unauthorised baptism, and now further, that the Church's laws are

made to enforce our obedience to the institution of Christ: so that what Christ's institution nulls and makes void, the Church's laws do also invalidate, because they are made to second the design of His institution. The adversary must either prove, that Christ's institution does not invalidate lay baptism, or if it does, then he must prove, if he can, that the Church's laws were not made to enforce Christ's institution: this he must do to make good his undertaking; for throughout his whole book he endeavours to persuade his reader that the Church's laws do not invalidate lay baptism. And it is very observable, that he does not so much as attempt to prove this from any one article of the Church of England, but brings instances of particular men's actions and opinions, with a design to palm them upon us for the judgment of the Church. How fairly he deals with the world by so doing, let the unbiassed reader judge; and I heartily pray that truth may prevail, let who will be its advocate; and be the consequences what they will, I shall greatly rejoice, because they will undoubtedly redound, as I sincerely desire that this and all my other undertakings may, to the glory and praise of God.

To this tract Bingham made little answer. In his dedication of the second part of the *Scholastical History* to the Bishop of Winchester (p. 2), he says that the deficiency of lay baptism “is supplied by confirmation; and so far the rules and practice of the

Church of England, for these last two hundred years, are clear : for we have neither order nor example to encourage rebaptisation in any such case, no, not after the rubric had confined the ministration of baptism wholly to the hands of a lawful ministry. For still no rule was made that such as were not baptised by a lawful minister should be rebaptised ; but they were required to receive the bishop's confirmation, and then were admitted to the eucharist, and the privilege of Christian burial, neither of which are allowed to unbaptised persons. Notwithstanding this, I am charged as an encourager of dissenters," &c. And in reply to Brett,—who in his *Inquiry* said that Laurence had sufficiently answered all Bingham's previous objections in his tract *Dissenters' Baptisms*,—Bingham objects (*Schol. Hist.*, part ii. p. 166), that if Brett and Laurence will not admit the testimony of private writers, as declaring the sense of the Church of England, but are determined to require express rubrics, articles, or canons, forbidding to rebaptise, and that they will accept *these only* as the judgment of the Church, it is in vain to continue the controversy, for such cannot be produced ; and he complains that "the constant practice of the Church is not thought sufficient to interpret her rubrics, and that the judgment of most, if not all, the bishops of the day is considered to have no weight in determining the dispute."

Finally, Laurence (preface to supplement to *Lay Baptism*) rejoins, that the office of confirmation presupposes a lawful baptism, godparents, and admis-

sion into the Church ; that the admission of those baptised by dissenters “ to confirmation, to the eucharist, and to Christian burial, is not according to the rule of the Church, but is only the personal act of individuals ;” he expresses his horror at any clergyman entering in the parish-registers, as validly baptised, those who had only been “ pretendedly baptised ” (referring to some strange instances, it is to be hoped no custom, where this, it seems, had been done) ; he denies that “ any man, of whose baptism there is no proof, has any right to the altar or to Christian burial ;” and he deplores the loose practice of “ admitting them to the holy eucharist as freely as if they had received perfect baptism ;” and he adds (§ 7. p. 9), “ If these things are thus wretchedly practised, what wonder is it to see the dead bodies of departed schismatics, who never were incorporated members of the Church by baptism, and who always detested and avoided the communion of our Church in their lifetime, and at their death were not reconciled to it; yet after death ceremoniously owned as in the Church’s communion ; in their procession to their graves solemnly preceded by some one or more of the priests of the Church ; gravely carried into the very church itself (which is a ceremony signifying that the departed died in the Church’s communion), — the divine service, appointed only for the burial of the faithful departed in the communion of saints, said over their bodies, who, it may be, never were in visible communion with them (or if they seemed to be so

at any time, it was without any right at all) ; and then to hear such departed schismatics called, each of them, *our dear brother*, or *sister*,—in the sense of our Church signifying their spiritual relation to us, as members of the same family and communion, when, it may be, they never were so, or, at least, they never appeared to have been so ; and lastly, to see their remains deposited in that sacred place, the church of God, into which in their lifetime they *abhorred to enter* and join with the members of the Church in the divine worship ;—to see these things, I say, is very dreadful to the minds of those who seriously consider and lay to heart the great importance and sad consequences of such practices.”

Page 16. He warns Bingham that his writings have encouraged dissenters to baptise : “ For upon the coming out of his first part they grew extravagantly bold, and even at Oxford carried a child in public procession to one of their meeting-houses, to be pretendedly baptised by one of their lay teachers ; and not only so, but now, since the publishing of his second part, the dissenters take him to be such an *encourager of them*, that his last book was lately recommended to a large congregation of them by their teacher, as an unanswerable book, in a discourse held forth to them in one of the most noted meeting-houses of this city.”

Page 37, § 27. He considers Bingham’s proposal, submitted to convocation, to construct a new form “ of confirmation, or imposition of hands, for

such as were baptised by heretics and schismatics, upon their return to the unity of the Church" (preface, p. viii. to part i. *Scholastical History*).

"I beg leave here to observe, against such a supposed confirming power,

"1. That our Saviour has commanded His apostles and their successors the bishops, and such as are commissioned by them, *actually to baptise* all those who are capable of, and have not received, baptism at their hands : this is plain from the institution of baptism, and other places of holy Scripture ; whereby it is evident, that He forbids them denying or refusing to baptise those capable persons who were never baptised by them.

"2. Hence it follows, that Christ forbids all acts of confirmation supposed to be performed by them, instead of that baptism which He requires them actually to perform.

"3. The law of Christ about baptising is plain and obvious ; but as yet there is no appearance of any law of His about confirming, instead of baptising, those who never were baptised by His commissioned officers. So that, by all that has been discovered of Christ's will and pleasure, every capable person that has not been baptised by one of His commissioned officers, must be baptised by one. Upon this, I beg to know, by what law can an inferior power—viz. that of bishops, which is inferior to Christ's—*dispense* with this superior law of actually baptising, in any case whatsoever ? If there be not produced a law, as plain

and obvious, and as binding and obliging, for this dispensing power, as that other law, which requires the clergy (persons first authorised by the bishops) to baptise, our minds will still mistrust the validity of this *dispensing power*, and be continually inclined to an incurable aversion against it, which will necessarily arise from the prevailing evidence and conviction of that other law of baptising, which is supreme. And the more we give ourselves leave to inquire, we shall be so much the more dissatisfied with the fancied validity of that baptism ; which, in fact, notwithstanding any bishops' attempt of confirmation, was *never* actually administered to us by one whom the institution authorises and commands to baptise, and of whom we are, by the same institution, required to receive baptism. For if, after such attempt at confirmation, it should be asked, was the man ever really and truly baptised by one of these instituted baptisers, or no ? — the answer will in truth be still the same after as it was before the supposed confirmation ; namely, he never was actually baptised by an instituted baptiser — the bishop, or one commissioned by him. And if it should be said, that he is now interpretatively so baptised, the same difficulty will still return ; he is not actually baptised by one whom the institution authorises and commands to baptise ; and it is baptism actually to be given by commissioned persons, which the institution does require. For this law of the institution was delivered by the sovereign Head of the Church to His apostles, and

their successors the bishops, and such as are commissioned by them, with an *express command*, enjoining and requiring them to do this, *Go ye, &c. baptising*: whereby *they* are positively commanded to initiate all nations into the Church, by baptising them, to the end of the world. But with what propriety of speech can it be truly said, that *they* have actually obeyed this express command with respect to a person who was never thus initiated by them? It is inconceivable, except it should be allowed that this command was not designed to be always literally observed, which will give a fair handle to the Quakers and other enthusiasts, who deny the necessity of outward sacraments; or except it can be proved that this, or some other law of the same Sovereign, does authorise His representatives to commute for the act of baptismation by some other act (say of imposition of hands), to be performed by them instead thereof. But till this other law is produced, bishops, who by the known, standing, fundamental law of Christ, are bound as His proxies, either in their own persons, or by those whom they commission, to sign and seal to us, by baptism, the Christian covenant between God and us, cannot, by a *post-fact* of imposition of hands, &c. give a legal validity to the unauthoritative, and therefore false, sign and seal of such pretended and counterfeit attorneys, as never were at all commissioned to sign and seal the Christian covenant in Christ's stead; because the *post-fact* of a bishop thus attempting a ratification is not that act, viz. of baptism, which the

law for signing and sealing of the Christian covenant does expressly require.

“4. Indeed, if bishops, and persons commissioned by them, were not obliged by the law and command of Christ to baptise; and if our Lord’s promise to concur with them herein to the end of the world, did not imply their constant obligation to pay obedience hereto till His second coming,—then indeed there might be some colour for this dispensing power of commuting one act for another, by a *post-fact* of confirmation; but forasmuch as they are bound and obliged by a supreme law of their Sovereign, which is of a much higher nature than any that the Church can now make, it is plain that bishops cannot dispense with that law, and refuse to pay obedience thereto, when it is in their power to fulfil it; as it certainly is, where they attempt to confirm instead of baptise. Though the Church (say the spiritual governors thereof), as being the supreme hierarchical power on earth, can, for all emergencies, make, relax, dispense with, and abrogate canons about circumstantial; yet she can make no canons of validity to enervate the essentials of Christ’s own institutions, nor can she abrogate any of His appointments, which He has instituted to continue to the end of the world. She may dispense with her own laws about indifferent things, but she is not therefore empowered to dispense with the essentials of her supreme Lord and Master’s institutions: and the reason of this is plain, because essentials are of constant and unalterable obligation;

they were appointed not by her, but by Christ, and can always be had in our case, when bishops, or persons commissioned by them, do reside among ourselves; and may reside even among the foreign reformed, as well at least as they did among the primitive Christians in the three first centuries, when the temporal powers of the earth did not protect, but persecute, the Church of Christ, and more especially the bishops thereof; and yet for all this, they were not destitute of a very numerous succession of bishops in those perilous times of persecution.

“ 5. And for my part, I can see no motive for such a dispensing power, as shall take away the necessity of episcopal baptism, by substituting a supposed confirmation in its stead, but to please the unreasonable demands of the pride and insolence, tenaciousness and obstinacy, of anti-episcopal heretics, schismatics, and other wicked and ignorant men. And if these must be *so* provided for, what will it be but to provide encouragement, or, at best, excuses, for gross sin? And what then will be the end of these things? Where shall we stop? And what security shall we have at last for any one institution of Christianity?

“ 6, and lastly. Though this supposed dispensing power may by some be thought sufficient ‘to awe such anti-episcopal usurpers as much as the closest doctrines for the necessity of episcopal baptism, since without such dispensation and confirmation they have no better title to grace, remission of sins, and the kingdom of heaven, than mere heathens;’ yet if per-

sons, pretendedly baptised by anti-episcopal usurpers, do discover that this dispensing power is not sufficiently proved, they will not at all be awed by it, but the contrary, so long as they are taught that there is no necessity for them to receive episcopal baptism. For will it not be natural for them to argue after this manner? ‘ We have been baptised already by one of our own teachers, who never was episcopally commissioned to baptise ; we are taught that we need not now be baptised by an episcopal minister ; what fault then is there now in our baptism ? Certainly none at all, with respect to the essence of the institution. It is true, we are told indeed, that our baptism is irregular, deficient, and unoperative, for want of authority in the baptiser, and that therefore it must be supplied by the bishop’s confirmation ; but how do those who assert this prove that the bishop’s confirmation was instituted to supply this supposed want of authority ? either our baptism was essentially good and valid before, or it was not : if it was not, then it must have been essentially null for want of authority, and consequently we are bound to receive episcopal baptism ; and so the episcopal confirmation to supply that essential defect is useless and insufficient : if our baptism was essentially good and valid without episcopal authority in the baptiser, then it is plain that this episcopal authority is not essentially necessary to the ministration of baptism ; and if not essentially necessary to its ministration, then it is not essentially necessary that the absence of this authority in a bap-

tiser should be supplied by the bishop's authority in a *post-fact* of his confirmation, since this *post-fact* adds nothing to the essence of our baptism itself: so that our baptism is good and valid without this confirmation, and therefore we have no need of the bishop's confirmation to supply a supposed defect in the ministration of our baptiser, any more than they have who were baptised by episcopal ministers; except the advocates for episcopacy can prove (which they have not yet done) that Christ or His apostles did institute this power of episcopal confirmation, on purpose to supply the want of an episcopal commission in non-episcopal baptisms.' This, I think, will be natural for anti-episcopal heretics to conclude; and that consequently their awe for this unproved dispensing power will be none at all, and they will have no fear of their title to grace, remission of sins, &c., without such a confirmation as this, so long as they are taught the non-necessity of episcopal baptism, and have not good proof laid before them of the divine institution of this supposed power of supplying by confirmation the want of authority or commission in their lay baptism."

THE END.

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